THE ANNALS

of The American Academy of Political
and Social Science

THORSTEN SELLIN, Editor
RICHARD D. LAMBERT, Assistant Editor



UNDERSTANDING ALCOHOLISM

Edited by

SELDEN D. BACON, Ph.D.

Professor of Sociology and Director, Center of Alcohol Studies, Yale University

© 1958, by

THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE
All rights reserved

PHILADELPHIA 1958

INDEX

| Addiction, 99-100 | defined, 100 |
|---|--|
| Al-Anon Family Groups, 11, 115 | difference in rate between the sexes, 53, 73 |
| Alcohol | Jellinek formula estimates, 5-6, 7, 9 |
| and obesity, 26 | lack of control over drinking, 55-56, 100 |
| compensation role of, 101 | need for alcohol, 100-101 |
| effect on thought processes, 33 | number of, 5-6 |
| effect on time estimation, 32-33 | in U. S., 6, 99 |
| effect on psychological functions, 33, 38 | types of, 7–8 |
| approach-avoidance conflict, 35-36 | Alcoholics Anonymous, 44, 45, 55, 74, 103-106 |
| social-emotional effects of, 33-34 | passim, 129, 131, 133 |
| variability in effects of, 38-39 | affiliation, 108 |
| Alcoholic beverages, 3 | aids and impediments to, 113-114 |
| and distillation process, 23-24 | comparison between affiliates and nonaffili- |
| and fermentation process, 23 | ates, 112–113 |
| brewed beverages, 23 | ambivalence about individualism in, 114-115 |
| use of in American colonies, 3, 13-14 | defined, 108, 109 |
| Alcoholic diseases, 8–9, 26 | history of, 110-111 |
| cirrhosis of the liver, 5, 7, 8, 9, 28 | implications for medical sociology in tech- |
| | niques of, 115-116 |
| Alcoholic personality and latent homosexuality, 44 | influence of American culture on, 114-115 |
| | meetings, description of, 109-110 |
| and physiological and social factors, 41 | pioneer in recognizing treatable condition of |
| and psychological factors, 40-41 | alcoholism, 116 |
| descriptions of, 40 | programs and activities, 108-111 |
| frequency of certain characteristics and psy- | Twelve Steps, 111-112 |
| choses in, 42–43 methods of study, 41 | as psychological therapy, 112 |
| premorbid and early history, 45-46, 48 | Twelve Traditions of, 108-109, 115 |
| problems of terminology, 41–42 | Alcoholics, chronic, 118 |
| quest for, 47 | defined, 66, 138 |
| role of alcohol in life of individual, 46-47 | detachment attitude toward others, 65 |
| results of studies concerning, 46, 47 | governmental programs for, 138 |
| tests to determine, 44–45 | rehabilitation of |
| perception testing, 45 | Half-Way House approach, 70-72 |
| types of wives, 42 | program, 71–72 |
| variety of types, 42, 43–44 | individualistic approach, 65-66, 68, 70 |
| | services for, 137-139 |
| Alcoholic-treatment clinics | studies concerning, 138 |
| follow-up treatment, 128 | See also, Skid Row subculture |
| initial interview, 127–128 | Alcoholics, women, see Woman alcoholic |
| role of social worker in, 126 | Alcoholism |
| interpreting clinic service to patients, 127- | among culturally isolated groups, 54 |
| 128 | and drinking, 3, 4, 48, 49-50, 58, 63-64, 74 |
| participation in active therapy, 128-129 | and intoxication, 26-29 passim, 50 |
| referrals and family services, 126-127, 129, | Church interest in, 140 |
| 130 | change in attitude of religious bodies, 141 |
| Alcoholics | death from, 9 |
| attitude of social workers toward, 125, 131 | definitions, 1, 2–3, 7, 42, 48 |
| comparison between men and women clinic | disease theory of, 7, 12-13, 16-17, 18, 29, |
| outpatients, 80-81 | 118, 123, 135 |
| comparison with nonalcoholics, 48 | dilemma of physicians concerning, 118-119 |
| contact with social agencies, 130-131 | opposition to, 17, 121 |
| defense mechanisms of, 101-102 | in Canada, 5, 6 |
| denial, 102 | interdisciplinary approach in cure, 12-13, 15- |
| projection, 102 | 16, 22, 54, 107, 123, 124 |
| | |

interest of the law in, 140 lack of consensus concerning, 1 medico-social aspects of, 12-13, 21 prevention and treatment, 10-11 holism, 93 terminological chaos, 1-2, 7-8 See also, Rate of alcoholism Alcoholism and drinking moral issue of, 14, 15, 48, 118 Alcoholism and medicine and specialized approach, 122 attitudes of physicians concerning, 119-121 negative attitude toward patients, 118, 122-123 changing attitude of medicine toward problem, 140-141, 143 hypersensitivity of alcoholic patient, 117 new medications and approach, 124 tranquilizing drugs, 124 health-team approach, 124 rapport between doctor and patient, 117-118, 124 trends in medical care, 122-123 55-64 Alcoholism and psychiatry aims of psychotherapy, 104-105, 106 cited, 52, 53 Emmanuel Movement, 19-20 Bailey, C. J., 36 group therapy, 106-107 limitation of psychotherapy, 105-106 cited, 36 role of patient, 103 role of therapist, 103 cited, 52 Peabody educational program, 20-21 psychological theories of, 102-103 cited, 51 latent homosexuality, 103 need-reduction theory, 103 role of motivation in successful therapy, 103-104 cited, 50 Alcoholism and social work interpreting social work services to other 110, 111 community agencies, 129-130 promoting awareness of problem among social workers, 131-132 role of social work in rehabilitation of alco-110, 111 holics, 125-126 See also Alcoholism-treatment clinics cited, 1 Alcoholism and the family quoted, 12 attitude of family members toward therapy, 97-98 dual relationship between alcoholic and the family, 90-91 effect of alcoholism on children, 91-92 cited, 32 effect of alcoholism on family structure, 93-94 effect of alcoholism on wives, 92-93 joint therapy for family and alcoholic, 98 Clark, J. W., 44 methods of solving crisis cited, 44 attempts to eliminate the problem, 95 Committee on the Problems of Alcohol, Nadenying the problem, 94-95 tional Research Council, 133 reorganization of the family, 96-97 Committee on Alcoholism, Council on Mental separation from the alcoholic, 95, 96 Health, American Medical Association role of Al-Anon Family Group in therapy, 98 resolution concerning alcoholism, 140-141

role of personalities in response and adjustment to problem, 97 role of wives' personalities in husband's alco-Alcoholism, approaches to problem specialized programs education, 139 future of, 139-140 research, 54, 56, 135, 136-137 role of social work in, 130 state programs, 135-136, 137 principles of Connecticut Legislation, 134 underlying principles, 134-135 American Hospital Association, 141 American Temperance Society, 15 ARMSTRONG, JOHN D., The Search for the Alcoholic Personality, 40-47 Association for the Advancement of Instruction about Alcohol and Narcotics, 139 BACON, SELDEN D., Alcoholics Do Not Drink, Bacon, Selden D., 51, 52, 53 quoted, 51, 52 Bales, Robert F., 52 Barnett, Milton L., 51 Baylor, Courtenay, 20 Beecher, Lyman, 16 Berreman, Gerald D., 50 Bill W. (co-founder of Alcoholics Anonymous), Blackburn, J. M., 44 Bob S. (co-founder of Alcoholics Anonymous), Bowman, Karl M., 1, 12 Bridge House, 44 Carlson, Anton, 137 Carpenter, J. A., 32 Center of Alcohol Studies, Yale University, 133-134, 137 Chambers, Francis, 20

Community Chest, 138

CONGER, JOHN J., Perception, Learning, and
Emotion: The Role of Alcohol, 31–39

Connecticut Legislature, 133

Connor, Ralph, 53

cited, 53

Coriat, Isador, 19

Curran, F. J., 76, 79

quoted, 76

Day, Albert, 18 quoted, 18 De Quincey, Thomas, 104 cited, 104 quoted, 104 Diethelm, Oscar, 43, 46 cited, 46 Drinking definition of, 56-57 motivation for, 34-35 need-reduction theory of, 36-38, 39 Drinking patterns American, 3-5 factors in shift of, 4 in France, 4, 5 in Italy, 4, 5 in nonliterate societies, 37 in Western Europe, 13 of American and Orthodox Jews, 50, 51, 52 of American Indians, 50 of Chinese and Chinese-Americans, 51, 52, 53

of Italians and Italo-Americans, 50, 51, 52 of Mormons, 53 of Northeastern Americans from Northwestern European background, 51-52, 58-63 alcoholism and variations in customs of, 60-63 individual functions of drinking, 58 material apparatus, 58-59 personnel of the custom, 59 sanctions and sanctioning agents, 59

social charter and variations of, 59, 61-63

East, W. N., 40 cited, 40 Efron, Vera cited, 3 Etiology of alcoholism, 123 physiological theory, 9 psychological theory, 10

"sociality" of drinking, 58

of Irish-Americans, 52-53

Felix, Robert H., 141 Ferenczi, Sandor, 44 cited, 44 Futterman, S., 42 cited, 42 Gantt, W. Horsley, 38
Glad, Donald D., 52
cited, 52
Gliedman, L. H., 98
cited, 98
Goldsmith, Oliver
quoted, 31
GREENBERG, LEON A., Intoxication and Alcoholism: Physiological Factors, 22–30
Greenberg, L. A., 32
cited, 32

Haer, John L., 53
cited, 53
Haggard, Howard W., 118
cited, 117
quoted, 117, 118
Health Committee, League of Nations, 142
Hollingshead, August B.
cited, 121
quoted, 121
Horton, David, 37
cited, 37
Housman, Alfred Edward
quoted, 31

Inebriety, alleviation of, 19

and the Salvation Army, 19

custodial approaches, 19 Emmanuel Movement, 19-20 Peabody's educational program, 20-21 Intoxication and alcoholism, physiological facaction of alcohol on the liver, 28 action of ethyl alcohol in body, 22, 23, 46 action of methyl alcohol in the body, 22, 23 alcohol as a source of energy, 25-26 alcohol metabolism, 15, 24-25 attempts at diminishing intoxication, 26 depressant action of alcohol on nervous system, 26-27, 31-32 effect of alcohol on pituitary gland, 28 intoxication and illusion of stimulation, 27 oxidation of alcohol, 25 rate of alcohol absorption, 24-25

Jackson, Joan K., Alcoholism and the Family, 90-98 Jackson, Joan K., 53 cited, 53 Jellinek, E. M., 1, 5, 6, 12 cited, 1, 5 quoted, 12

Keely Institutes, 19
Keller, Mark, Alcoholism: Nature and Extent
of the Problem, 1-11

LaBarre, Wesley, 51
cited, 51
quoted, 51
Laboratory of Applied Physiology, Yale University, 133
Lemert, Edwin M., 50
cited, 50
Levine, J., 76
cited, 76
LISANSKY, EDITH S., The Woman Alcoholic, 73–81
Lolli, Giorgio, 51
cited, 51
Lovell, H. W., 9
cited, 9

McCarthy, Raymond G., Alcoholism: Attitudes and Attacks, 1775-1935, 12-21 McCarthy, Raymond, 138 McComb, Samuel, 19 Mangin, William, 50 cited, 50 Manson, M. P., 44 cited, 44 Marden, C. F., 119 cited, 119 quoted, 119 MARKHAM, JEAN E., The Case of Mary Doe, 82-89 Masserman, J. H., 35, 37 cited, 35 Miller, N. E., 36 cited, 36

Moore, Merrill, 51

cited, 51

141
Newell, N., 92
cited, 92
New York Home for Intemperate Men, 19
North American Association of Alcoholism
Programs, 135, 136
recommended standards, 136
North American Association of Alcoholism
Programs Research Institute
report of, 136-137

National Committee for Education on Alcohol-

National Institute of Mental Health, 136, 137,

National Council on Alcoholism, 135, 139

Pauleikhoft, B., 40 cited, 40 Peabody, Richard, 20, 21 Personality, alcoholic, see Alcoholic personality Popham, Robert E. cited, 5, 6 Powdermaker, Florence, 117 cited, 118 quoted, 117

Quaranta, J. V., 44 cited, 44 quoted, 44

Randolph, Theron G., 10 cited, 10
Rate of alcoholism, 6 effect of primary-group attitude on, 53-54 effect of social customs on, 49, 50, 51-52, 57-58 increase in, 6-7
Research Council on the Problems of Alcoholism, 133

Riley, John W., Jr., 119 cited, 119 quoted, 119

RUBINGTON, EARL, The Chronic Drunkenness Offender, 65-72 Rush, Benjamin, 13, 16

Salvation Army, 134, 138
SAPIR, JEAN V., Social Work and Alcoholism,
125-132

SHEPHERD, ERNEST A., Current Resources for Therapy, Education, and Research, 133-143 Sherfey, Mary Jane, 42, 43

cited, 42 .
Skid Row subculture, 6, 54, 66-70
alienation from major value-patterns and
existence of, 67-68
drinking norms in, 66-67

establishment of new primary-group ties in, 68-69

68-69
functions of, 69
indices of membership in, 67
role of arrests in status of members, 66-67
social groups in, 70
status in and return to dominant society, 72
types attracted to, 69-70
Smith Larger I. 9.1

Smith, James J., 9, 10 cited, 9 Snyder, Charles, 50 cited, 50

STRAUS, ROBERT, Medical Practice and the Alcoholic, 117-124

Straus, Robert, 51, 53, 120, 138 cited, 51, 53, 120 Strecker, Edward, 20

Strecker, Edward, 20 Summer School of Alcohol Studies, Yale University, 133, 139

Syme, Leonard, 47 cited, 47

Temperance movement, American, 14-15, 16, 133

- National Prohibition Enforcement Act of 1920, 14 Washingtonians society, 17–18
- Tiebout, H. M., 104 cited, 104
- Tintera, J. W., 9 cited, 9
- Todd, Eli, 16
 Trice, Harrison M., Alcoholics Anonymous,
 108-116
- Trotter, Thomas, 1, 16, 21 quoted, 1, 16
- Turner, J. Edward, 17
- ULLMAN, ALBERT D., Sociocultural Backgrounds of Alcoholism, 48-54 United States Brewers Association, 14 United States Public Health Service, 141 University of Pennsylvania School of Medi-
- cine, 20 University of Wisconsin, 136
- Vogel, Sidney, Psychiatric Treatment of Alcoholism, 99-107 Volunteers of America, 134, 138
- Wall, J. H., 79 cited, 79 quoted, 75, 77 Wallerstein, Robert, 42, 43 cited, 42 Wernicke, Carl, 8

- Williams, Phyllis H., 51 cited, 51
- William, Roger J., 9, 10
- cited, 9 Witkin, H. A., 45
- cited, 45 Wittman, P., 45, 46 cited, 45
- Woman alcoholic, 7
 - abnormality and personal disorganization in 74-75
- case history, 82-89
- defined, 77
- diseases of chronic alcoholism in, 75
- history and patterns of drinking of, 78-79
- home background of, 78 and individuality of problem of alcoholism, 75-76
- and life-situation, 77
- moralistic attitude toward, 73
- need for further research in problem of, 81 number of, 73
- increase in, 73-74
- role of feminine physiological functions, 77
- sexual promiscuity of, 76-77 social background of, 78
- social subgroups, distinction between, 79-80
- Worcester, Elwood, 19
- World Health Organization, 79, 141-143
- Report of the Subcommittee on Alcoholism summary of recommendations, 142-143
- Yum, K. S., 35, 37 cited, 35

THE ANNALS

of The American Academy of Political and Social Science

THORSTEN SELLIN, Editor
RICHARD D. LAMBERT, Assistant Editor



A CROWDING HEMISPHERE: POPULATION CHANGE IN THE AMERICAS

Edited by

KINGSLEY DAVIS, Ph.D.

Professor of Sociology and Social Institutions University of California, Berkeley

© 1958, by

The American Academy of Political and Social Science
All rights reserved

PHILADELPHIA 1958

Issued bimonthly by The American Academy of Political and Social Science at Prince and Lemon Sts., Lancaster, Pennsylvania.

Editorial and Business Offices, 3937 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia 4, Pennsylvania.

INDEX

Aged index of aging, 69 increase of, in world population, 69 reduction in mortality of, 33 Alberdi, Juan quoted, 106 American Federation of Labor, 49, 50 American Guild of Variety Artists, 50 American Legion, 49, 50 American Mining Congress, 49 Associated General Contractors, 49 Avila, Fernando Bastos de, S.J. cited, 108 Back, Kurt cited, 135 BAZZANELLA, WALDEMIRO, see COSTA PINTO, L. A., jt. author Birth control in Puerto Rico, 91, 92 Birth rates crude birth rate, 19-20 for Argentina, 6, 7, 85, 86 for Australia, 18 for Brazil, 122 decline in, 86 for Canada, 4, 18 for Chile, 84, 85, 86 for Cuba, 84 for Guatemala, 86 for Latin America, 6, 7, 84, 85 relationship to education, 84-85 for Mexico, 6, 7, 86 for New Zealand, 18 for Puerto Rico, 7, 84, 86 decline in, 86 for Salvador, El, 86 for United States, 3-4, 6, 7, 18-19 for Uruguay, 6, 7 Bogue, Donald J., 65 cited, 58 Borges-Costa, Esdras cited, 121 Brazil economic development of, 121, 122, 123 internal migration, 124-125 rural-urban migration, 124-125 labor force agricultural, 123, 124 manufacturing, 123

service industries, 123-124

urbanization of, 124-125

social change in, 121-122, 124, 126

women, 124

Brown, Harrison, 10 Browning, Harley L., Recent Trends in Latin American Urbanization, 111-120 Browning, Harley L., 9 Canada economy, growth of, 57 Cantril, Hadley cited, 48 Caribbean Islands recent emigration from, 132-133 Carvalho, Alceu Vicente de cited, 88 Casis, Ana, 111 cited, 111 Combs, J. W., 131 cited, 131 Common Market, 46 Congress of Industrial Organizations, 50 Corbett, David C. cited, 58 Cortines, Adolfo Ruiz quoted, 92 COSTA, PINTO, L. A., and WALDEMIRO BAZ-ZANELLA, Economic Development, Social Change and Population Problems in Brazil, 121-126 DAVIS, KINGSLEY, Recent Population Trends in the New World: An Over-all View, 1-10 Davis, Kingsley, 111, 131 cited, 64, 103, 111, 131 Death rates for Brazil, 122, 123 for Canada, 76, 77, 79, 81 decline in, 5, 6 for Latin America decline in. 6 for underdeveloped countries, 6 for the United States, 5 decline in, 5, 6 See also Mortality Diefenbaker, John, 57 Division of Actuary, Social Security Administration (US), 31 Duncan, B. cited, 58 Duncan, O. D. cited, 58 ECKERSON, HELEN F., United States and Canada: Magnets for Immigration, 34-42

Brown, Harrison, Life in the Americas Dur-

ing the Next Century, 11-17

Eckerson, Helen, 5 Eldridge, Hope Tisdale, 61 cited, 61

Fertility, human in Brazil socio-economic differences in levels of fertility, 88-90 in Canada, 4, 6, 18 effect of aging of population on rate of fertility, 76, 77, 79, 81 procreativity in Canada and the United States, difference in, 23-24 in Caribbean Islands, 129-130 British Islands, 130-131 Republics, 131 Puerto Rico, 131-132 in Latin America prospects for decline of, 91-93 urban-rural differences, 87-88 in Puerto Rico socio-economic differences in levels of fertility, 88-89

hypotheses re rise, 22-23
family, change in size of, 20-21
future development of, 21
history of, 18-19
marriage patterns, 21-22
procreativity in Canada and the United
States, difference in, 23-24
relationship to income, 22-23
total fertility, 20
total fertility, rate, 19
Forsyth, W. D., 107

socio-psychological factors of, 90-91

in the United States, 4-5, 6 decline and rise, 4-5, 18, 20

Forsyth, W. D., 107 Freyre, Gilberto cited, 106 quoted, 106

Garces, V. Gabriel cited, 109
Garis, R. L. cited, 47
Garnsey, Morris E. cited, 56
Gibbons, William J. cited, 108
Gordon, Margaret S. cited, 56
Gras, N. S. B. cited, 64

cited, 64 quoted, 64 Greville, T. N. E. cited, 31, 33 Guralnick, L. cited, 28

Hallet, Robert M. cited, 109 Handlin, Oscar cited, 47 Hanson, Simon G. cited, 105 Hatt, Paul K., 90, 135 cited, 90, 132, 135 Hawley, A. H. cited, 67 Health, progress in and chronic diseases, 31 and declining mortality, 30-32 and economic progress, 31 factors in, 31 and infectious diseases, 31 in Latin America, 96-97, 99 public health programs, 31 Herring, Hubert cited, 107 quoted, 107 Higham, John cited, 47 Hill, Reuben

cited, 135 Immigration (Canada) displaced persons and refugees, 41 immigrants, characteristics of post-World War II, 42 Netherland families, 41-42 policies, 40 preferred countries of immigration, 41 US immigration into Canada, 41 Immigration (Latin America) assessment for future immigration, 106-108 future of in Argentina, 108 in Brazil, 108-109 in Chile, 109 in Colombia, 109 in Venezuela, 109

historical comparison between North and

South America, 103-104
industrialization, 105-106
landed estates, 104-105
natural obstacles, 104-105
political instability, 105-106
selective immigration, need for, 102-103
Immigration (United States)
economic effects of, 43-46 passim
effects on level of living, 44-46
Hungarian Parolee program, 35
immigrants, tharacteristics of post-World

War II, 39-40 legislation Act of September 11, 1957, 35 Displaced Persons Act of 1948, 35 Iramigration Act of 1924, 34, 35, 36

Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 (McCarran-Walter Act), 34-37 passim, 49, 50, 51 Refugee Relief Act of 1953, 35 "War Brides Act" and "Fiancées Act," 35 of displaced persons and refugees, 38-39 of Puerto Ricans, 46 of spouses and children of US citizens, 37 and overpopulation abroad, 46-47 post-World War II, 34, 35 quota system, 36-37 and values of natives, 43-44 Western Hemisphere Canada, 37-38 Mexico, 37-38 See also, Immigration (Latin America), historical comparison between North and

South America

Immigration policy (United States) Congressional hearings and vote concerning, 49-51

history of, 47-48 and organized groups' opinion, 49-51 President's Commission on Immigration and Naturalization, 49, 50

President Truman's Directive of December 22, 1945, 35 and public opinion, 47, 48-49

Immigration Restriction League, 49 International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, 50

Inman, Samuel Guy cited, 105 quoted, 105 Isaac, Julius cited, 47, 103 Isard, Walter

cited, 53 Izumi, Seiichi cited, 103

Janer, José L., 129, 131, 132, 134 cited, 129, 131, 132, 133 Tapan food production in, 12

Kent, Tom cited, 57 Kingsley, J. D. cited, 47 Kraenzel, Carl F. cited, 56 Kuznets, Simon cited, 53

Latin America economy of, 9-10 future development energy resources, lack of, 15

industrialization, lack of capital for, 14-16 land degradation, 14, 15 LeBourdais, D. M. cited, 57 Lee, Everett S. cited, 53 Leybourne, J. G. cited, 129 Logan, W. P. D. cited, 28 Longevity in Argentina, 95 in Brazil, 97 in British Guiana, 95 in Canada, 25, 27-28 of females, 28, 32-33 of males, 28 in Costa Rica, 95 in Latin America, 94-95 causal factors, 97-98 compared with that of the West, 95, 96 See also Health progress, Latin America in Puerto Rico, 95 in the United States, 25, 27-28, 32 environmental influences, 28

MacGregor, D. C., 45 McKenzie, R. D. cited, 64 quoted, 64 Malthus, Thomas Robert, 94 Mayne, Alvin, 134 cited, 133 Mexico agricultural development in, 13-14

of females, 28

See also Death rates

of males, 28

Migration and age structure of populations, 72, 74 in Canada, 76-79 passim Migration, internal (Canada) parallel streams between United States and Canada, 54 Migration, internal (United States)

background, 52 California, movement to and from, 55-57 climate, role of in, 53 economic motives of, 52-53

frequency of, 53-54 Negro movement to the North, 58-59 social implications of, 59

out-migration of Southern whites, 59 parallel streams between Canada and United States, 54

reasons for migrating, 59 rural depopulation, 59

westward movement, 56-57 and economic development of the West, 56-57 Mills, D. O. cited, 133, 134 Moriyama, I. M. cited, 28 Mortality, human in Brazil infant mortality, 122, 123 in the Caribbean Islands, 132 in Latin America declining of, 94 in the United States causes of death, 29-30 infant mortality, 30 projections, 31-32 reduction in rate of female mortality, 25 reduction in rate of male mortality, 25 reduction in rate of nonwhites, 25, 27 and marital status, 29 methods of deriving mortality of populations, 100-101 See also Death rates Mukerjee, Radhakamal cited, 108 Myrdal, Gunnar

National Farm Labor Union, 50
National Grange, 49, 50
National Industrial Conference Board, 49
National Institute of Health (US), 31
National Office of Vital Statistics (US), 31
Nelson, Lowry, 131
cited, 129, 131
North America
future development of
automation, 17
industries, increasing complexity of, 16–17
resources, depletion of, 16
society, increasing complexity of, 16
space shortage, 17
technological-industrial revolution, new, 16

National Association of Manufacturers, 49

Osborne, Robert, 131 quoted, 131 Out-migration British West Indies, 109-110 Latin America prospects, 109-110 Mexico, 109-110 Puerto Rico, 109-110

Parnes, Herbert S. cited, 52 Perón, Juan, 108

cited, 58

PETERSEN, GENE B., see Schnore, Leo F., jt. PETERSEN, WILLIAM, Internal Migration and Economic Development in Northern America, 52-59 Petersen, William cited, 57 Pickersgill, J. W. cited, 58 Population of Argentina growth and rate of growth, 8 Population of Australia growth and rate of growth, 8 Population of Brazil growth and rate of growth, 122-123 Population of Canada aged in, 72 aging of, 74 growth and rate of growth, 57 emigration into United States, 57-58 and immigration, 57 index of aging, 79-81 projection for future, 77 ratio to Western Hemisphere population, 8 and political leadership, 8 Population of Caribbean Islands control of, 134-136 fertility control, 135-136 growth and rate of growth British Islands, 127-128 projections for, 133-134 Republics, 128-129 Population of Colombia growth and rate of growth, 8 Population of Dominican Republic growth and rate of growth, 7 Population of Guatemala growth and rate of growth, 7 Population of Honduras growth and rate of growth, 7 Population of Latin America growth and rate of growth, 2-4, 6

and productive and social gains, 99-100
reason for leadership among underdeveloped countries, 7
Population of Mexico
growth and rate of growth, 5-6
Population of New Zealand
growth and rate of growth, 8
Population of North America
growth and rate of growth, 2-3, 4, 17
reason for near leadership among industrial nations, 7-8

and economic problems, 8-9, 10

and immigration, 6

Population of Northwestern Europe age structure of, 71-72
Population of Panama growth and rate of growth, 7

Smith, T. Lynn, 102 Population of Peru growth and rate of growth, 8 cited, 102 Population of Puerto Rico SPENGLER, JOSEPH J., Issues and Interests in growth and rate of growth, 129 American Immigration Policy, 43-51 Population of Salvador, El Spengler, Joseph J. growth and rate of growth, 7 cited, 45 Population of the United States SPIEGELMAN, MORTIMER, Mortality Trends and aged in, 72 Prospects and Their Implications, 25-33 aging of, 74 Spiegelman, M. growth and rate of growth cited, 28, 29 and immigration, 5, 44-45 STOLNITZ, GEORGE J., The Revolution in Death ratio to Western Hemisphere population, 8 Control in Nonindustrial Countries, 94and political leadership, 8 Stolnitz, George J., 9 Population of Venezuela Stycos, J. M., 90, 135, 136 growth and rate of growth, 7 cited, 90, 91, 135 Population of Western Europe Sweet, David aging of, 74 cited, 43 Population of Western Hemisphere age structure of, 71-74 Taylor, Carl aged persons, increase in, 70-71 cited, 105 growth and rate of growth, 1-4 quoted, 105 difference in growth between North and Thomas, Brinley Latin America, 2, 7 passim cited, 45, 53 future, 3-4, 11 Thomas, Dorothy Swaine reasons for, 4 cited, 53 ratio of children to, 71, 72 shift in balance within the Hemisphere, 8 Thompson, Warren S. cited, 56, 66 See also Individual countries TIETZE, CHRISTOPHER, Human Fertility in Populations of world Latin America, 84-93 age structure of, 69-71 Tietze, Christopher, 131 aging and maturing of, 81-83 cited, 131 high rate of aging in present generation, 74 Truman, Harry S., 35 Turner, Frederick Jackson, 59 Rampersaud, F. cited, 133, 134 United Nations, 3, 7, 8 ROBBINS, RICHARD, Myth and Realities of In-Urbanization ternational Migration into Latin America, defined, 61-63 102-110 metropolitan communities Robbins, Richard, 6 and commuting, 65 cited, 47 defined, 64, 66 ROBERTS, G. W., The Caribbean Islands, 127growth of periphery, 63, 64, 65-66 136 rise of, 63-64 Roberts, G. W. Urbanization (Canada) cited, 130, 132, 133, 134 Rossi, Peter H. deconcentration of, 67-68 cited, 53 size, variety in, 63 RYDER, NORMAN B., The Reproductive Renaishistory, 60-61 sance North of the Rio Grande, 18-24 metropolitan growth, 66, 67 Ryder, Norman historical analysis of, 66-67 cited, 5 population growth in city and periphery, 67 Urbanization (Latin America) SCHNORE, LEO F., and GENE B. PETERSEN, Urbackground, 111-112 ban and Metropolitan Development in the and economic development, 116-118 United States and Canada, 60-68 lack of industrialization, 117 Senior, Clarence future development, 119-120 cited, 132 metropolitan populations, 112-113 Shryock, H. S. primate cities, 114, 119 cited, 49 concentration of functions in, 114

exception to pattern, 114
historical background of, 115
parasitic role, question of, 116
sources of growth, 118–119
rural-urban migration, 118
Urbanization (US)
cities
deconcentration of, 67–68
size, variety of, 63
history, 60–61
metropolitan growth, 64, 66, 68
historical analysis of, 66–67
and modern facilities, 64
population growth in city and periphery, 67

VALAGRAS, VASILIOS G., Young and Aged Populations, 69-83 Valaoras, V. G. cited, 74, 81 Violich, Francis cited, 120

Weber, A. F., 66
cited, 66
Western Hemisphere
as a single demographic region, 1-2
future of
agricultural development, 13-14
food production, 12-13
industrial development, 13
Whelpton, P. K.

cited, 20 Willems, Emilio cited, 106

THE ANNALS

of The American Academy of Political
and Social Science

THORSTEN SELLIN, Editor
RICHARD D. LAMBERT, Assistant Editor



THE SATELLITES IN EASTERN EUROPE

Edited by

HENRY L. ROBERTS, Ph.D.

Professor of History and Director, Russian Institute and the Program on East Central Europe Columbia University

© 1958, by

THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE

All rights reserved

PHILADELPHIA 1958

INDEX

| Acheson, Dean, 155 | Russification of |
|---|---|
| Adenauer, Konrad, 157, 158 | and history, 126 |
| cited, 159 | and language and literature, 125-126 |
| Africa, 116 | Bărbulescu, C. |
| Agriculture (Eastern Europe), 44-52 | cited, 60 |
| background, 44-45 | Benjámin, László, 77, 78 |
| collective farms, 26, 48 | cited, 77 |
| economic failures, 49 | quoted, 77 |
| peasants' attitude toward, 48-49 | Bereday, George Z. F., Education and Youth, |
| collectivization, 46-49 | 63-70 |
| objectives, 49-50 | Bergson, Abram |
| decollectivization, 49-50 | cited, 22 |
| exports, decline in agricultural, 52 | Beria, Lavrentii P., 5, 80, 84, 85, 90, 99, 100, |
| land-ownership distribution, change in, 46 | 101, 119 |
| price and taxation policies, 50 | Berkman, Paul L. |
| production, agricultural, stagnation of, 50-52 | cited, 67 |
| reforms, agrarian, post-World War II, 45 | Berman, J., 72, 83, 84, 85 |
| See also Eastern Europe; names of indi- | Bialer, Seweryn, 89 |
| vidual countries | cited, 143 |
| Albania, 153 | Bialoszewski, Miron, 72 |
| collectivization in, 46 | Bierut, Boleslaw, 4, 5, 6, 13, 15, 83, 84, 89, 90 |
| Aleksa-Angarietis, Zigmas, 128 | quoted, 13 |
| Almas, I. | Blasko, Ladislav |
| cited, 54 | quoted, 121 |
| AMES, EDWARD, Economic Policy in Eastern | Brinton, Crane, 97 |
| Europe From 1950 Through 1956, 22-35 | cited, 97 |
| Antonescu, Ion, 62 | quoted, 97 |
| Apostol, G., 58 | British Broadcasting Company (BBC), 122 |
| cited, 59 | Brzezinski, Zbigniew, The Pattern of Politi- |
| Asia, 116, 157 | cal Purges, 79-87 |
| Austria, 115, 143, 145 | Buhler, Neal |
| Austrian State Treaty, 20 | cited, 68 |
| | Bulganin, Nikolai A., 20, 144, 157, 159, 162 |
| Balkan Union, 81, 144 | quoted, 142 |
| Baltic States, 150 | Bulgaria, 150 |
| agriculture, collectivization of, 124 | agrarian reforms in, 45, 46 |
| and the West, 124, 125, 128-129 | collectivization in, 46 |
| annexation by Soviet Union, 123 | Communist party in, 2 |
| decompression in, 128, 129 | leadership in, 6, 7 |
| deportations from, 124, 127 | personality cult in, 4, 85 |
| economic reforms, 124-125 | foreign trade, 10 |
| émigrés, 128-129 | industry, development of, 39 |
| government, control of by Soviet Union, 124 | imports, 42 |
| Hungarian and Polish revolts, repercussions | "New Course" in, 5, 15, 16, 18 |
| of in, 128 | See also Purges |
| industry, growth of, 124-125 | Burin, Frederic S., 131 |
| nationalism in, 129 | Burma, 132 |
| political prisoners, release and rehabilitation | Byrnes, James F. |
| of, 127-128 | quoted, 163 |
| religion in, 125 | BYRNES, ROBERT F., The Climax of Stalinism, |
| | |
| Sovietization of, slow progress of, 123-124, | 1950-1955, 8-11 |
| 125 | 1950–1953, 8–11 |
| | CAMPBELL, JOHN C., East Europe, Germany, |

| Carol II (of Rumania), 62 | Stalinism |
|---|---|
| Center of Writers in Exile, 150 | Sovietization, program of in satellites, 8 |
| Central European Federal Movement, 150 | Contantin, B. |
| Cep, Jan | cited, 38 Council of Free Youth of Central Europe, 150 |
| quoted, 147 | Culture (Eastern Europe) |
| Cepicka, Alexej, 85, 119 | "Socialist realism" |
| Chalasinsky, Józef, 14 Charles I Institute, Paris (Rumanian émigré | decay of, 73 |
| institute), 148 | standardization of, 71 |
| Charles I (of England), 97, 105 | Zhdanovism, 71, 73 |
| Chernyshevski, N. G., 126 | "thaw" period, the, 5 |
| Chervenkov, Vulko, 4, 13, 14, 15, 82, 85 | Csóori, Sándor, 74 |
| quoted, 12 | Cyrankiewicz, Jozef, 92 |
| China, People's Republic of, 95, 132, 133, 143, | quoted, 91 |
| 145, 154 | Czechoslovak Foreign Institute in Exile, 151 |
| Chirculescu, I. | Czechoslovak Institute in Exile (Holland), 147 |
| cited, 57 | Czechoslovakia, 154 |
| Christian Democratic Union of Central East- | agrarian reforms in, 45 |
| ern Europe, 150 | collectivization in, 46 |
| Clementis, Vladimir, 8, 82, 119, 120 | Communist party in, 1-7 passim |
| Cominform, 80 | leadership, nature of, 6, 7, 118-120 |
| Communism, national, 136-137 | insecurity of, 117-118 |
| Communism, international | personality cult in, 4, 85 |
| twelve-party declaration, 135-136, 137 | democratic tradition and Communists' fear |
| Communist doctrine and the Twentieth Con- | of relaxing controls, 116 |
| gress of the Communist Party of the So- | democratic tradition and revolt, 116-117 |
| viet Union | disillusionment with the West, 117 |
| colonial liberation, pronouncements concern- | education in, 65-66 |
| ing, 132 | elections in, 18, 115 |
| de-Stalinization speech by Khrushchev, con- | exposition to Western influence, 115 |
| sequences of, 134-135 | fear of Soviet strength, 117 |
| foreign policy | government and group rivalries, 121 |
| peaceful coexistence, 131 | heavy industry, development of, 38-39, 41 |
| underdeveloped countries, wooing of, 132- | industrial base created by capitalist era, 120 |
| 133 | nationalism in, 120 |
| ideological controversy, 130–131 | "New Course" in, 4-5, 15 |
| power seizure and development of "social- | political trials in, 8–9 |
| ism," pronouncements on, 133-134 | productivity, increase in, 42 |
| war and peace, pronouncements on, 131-132 | "Stalenkovism," 116 |
| Communist parties (Eastern Europe) | reason for passive behavior during "thaw" |
| differences in, 1-7 | (1955–56), 115–116 |
| establishment of one-party dictatorships, 3, 8 | revolt against Communism |
| split in, 80 | by students, 121 |
| See also Names of individual countries | by workers, 121-122 |
| Communist Party of the Soviet Union | by writers, 121 |
| Congresses | standard of living in, 118, 120, 122 |
| Twentieth, 4, 5, 6, 77, 85, 90, 104, 106, 115, 116 | bloodless resistance to Communism, 120–121, 122 |
| and Titoism, 108 | second Congress of Czech and Slovak writers, |
| consequences of, 137 | 121 |
| See also Communist doctrine and the | See also Purges |
| Twentieth Congress of the Commu- | |
| nist Party of the Soviet Union | Dahlem, F., 83 |
| Communist policy | Dallin, Alexander, The Soviet Stake in East- |
| collective leadership, 84 | ern Europe, 138-145 |
| "New Course," 13 | Darvas, Joszef, 77 |
| public pronouncements following Stalin's | Dellin, L. A. D. |

Democratic party (Poland), 93, 94

Dellin, L. A. D. cited, 47

public pronouncements following Stalin's

"People's Democracies" concept of, 16

death, 12-13

| Déry, Tibor, 73, 74, 77, 78, 102 Dimitrov, Georgi, 4, 81, 82 Divilova, J. | long-run economic plans, 30 nationalization of industry, 22 price problems |
|---|--|
| cited, 47 | post-Stalin interpretation and solution of |
| Djilas, Milovan, 113, 114 | 32 |
| cited, 145 quoted, 120 | disproportion between investment and consumer good, 32-33 |
| Dobi, István, 99 | |
| DUCHACEK, Ivo, A "Loyal" Satellite: The Case | |
| | and processed goods, 33 |
| of Czechoslovakia, 115–122 | heterodox view of, 34, 35 |
| Dudinski, I. | orthodox view of, 33–34, 35 |
| cited, 32 | Stalin's explanation and solution of, 31-32 |
| Dulea, M. | rationing, abolition of, 31 |
| cited, 54, 56, 58 | shortages |
| Dulles, Allen, 81 | curing, solutions for, 33, 34-35 |
| Dulles, John Foster, 155, 160, 162, 163 | Stalinist period, 9-10 |
| cited, 156 | Economy (Eastern Europe) |
| quoted, 156, 161 | composition of, 28-29 |
| Dvorkin, I. | imbalance in, 42 |
| cited, 34 | industrial growth, rate of, 23, 24 |
| Dzerzhinski, Felix, 126 | inflation, 28 |
| Dziewanowski, M. K., Limits and Problems | |
| of Decompression: The Case of Poland, | productivity indices, 26-28 |
| 88-96 | wages, 28, 42 |
| | See also Agriculture, economic policy, in- |
| Eastern Europe | dustry |
| agriculture, mismanagement of, 17 | Education (Eastern Europe), 9, 63-70 |
| and the Soviet empire, 161-163 | curricula, 65 |
| industrialization in | discipline in, 65-67 |
| return to pre-"New Course" thinking, 19- | disinchantment of youth in, 68, 69 |
| 20 | educational opportunities for the masses, 67, |
| "New Course," 17, 142 | 69 |
| and party unity, 18-19 | illiteracy, drop in, 66 |
| Khrushchev-Molotov conflict concerning, | nationalism, role of in, 69 |
| 142-143 | policies, re-examination of, 70 |
| political dimensions of, 17-18 | political circumstances, role of in, 66-67 |
| reaction of individual countries, difference | quality of, 64-65, 66 |
| in, 15-16 | religion, role of in, 69 |
| v overindustrialization in, 17 | Soviet indoctrination in, 63 |
| Soviet control and dissatisfaction of the peo- | failure of, 64 |
| ple, 11 | See also Hungary, Poland, Rumania |
| trade tied to Soviet Union, 10 | Egypt, 132 |
| United States policy toward, 161–163 | Ehrenburg, Ilyja, 74, 84 |
| Western policy toward, 161–163 | |
| East-West conflict | Eisenhower, Dwight D., 157, 162 |
| | Eluard, Paul, 73 |
| and Germany, 157–159 | Emigration, Eastern Europe |
| cold war, 149, 150, 161 | post-World War II, 146 |
| disarmament, 157 | Emigrés, political |
| Iron Curtain, 147, 148, 149, 155, 157, 160 | activities, aspects of, 146 |
| Ebert, Friedrich, 136 | and development of national culture in for- |
| Economic policy (Eastern Europe), 22-35 | eign soil, 146–147 |
| and political factors, 30 | cultural exchange with satellite countries, |
| consumption, control of, 29-30 | problem of, 149 |
| currency conversion, 31 | political activities, 149-151 |
| industrialization, 22-23 | Assembly of Captive European Nations, |
| and human values, 42 | 150 |
| inflation | liberation, differing views concerning, 150- |
| investments, increase in as a cure for, 35 | 152 |
| investment programs, 25-26, 38, 41 | national councils, 150 |

publication and research, 148, 151-152 Eminescu, M., 148 Fabians, 107 Fadeyev, Alexander A., 74 Farkas, Mihály, 97, 105 Fechner, Max, 83 Finland, 143, 145 Fischer-Galati, Stephen cited, 47, 56 Foreign policy (Soviet Russia) and national communism, 20, 142, 153-154 and Poland, 153 and Yugoslavia, 85, 104 Eastern Europe, control of, 10-11, 20, 153 and decompression policy, 141-142 and establishment of "People's Democracies," 141 and nuclear weapons, 156 as bridgehead against the West, 140 defense objectives, 140 Khrushchev middle course policy, 143-144 political implications, 156-157 power objectives, 138-140 present-day policies, 144-145 Foreign policy (US) and Hungarian revolt (1956), 155-156 and uprisings in Hungary and Poland, 161 and Yugoslavia, 160 anti-Communist opposition, encouragement of, 160-161 appeasement of communism, 154 containment of communism, 154 national communism, support of, 160-161 re Eastern Europe and nuclear weapons, 156 principle and practicality, 155-156 rollback of communism, 154 Foreign policy (Western) acceptance and protest of Soviet control in Eastern Europe, 154-155 and nuclear warfare, 156 and uprisings in Hungary and Poland, 153 France, 154 Franco, Francisco, 81 Free Europe Committee, 9

scholarship, 147-148

institutes, 147-148

Geneva "summit" conference (July 1955), 20, 162
George III (of England), 97
German Democratic Republic, 40, 42, 81, 83, 84, 85, 108, 116, 117, 140, 156, 158, 159 and German nationalism, 158 diplomatic relations with satellites, 159 "New Course" in, 85 productivity, increase in, 42 revolt in (1953), 155

German Federal Republic, 115, 140, 158, 159, and Czechoslovakia, obstacles to rapprochement between, 160 and Poland, obstacles to rapprochement between, 160 and relations with East European satellites, 159-160 and the West, 158-159 Germany and Eastern Europe, 158 Communist party in, 1, 2 unification of, 158, 159 Gerö, Ernö, 6, 99, 105 Gheorghiu-Dej, Gheorghe, 4, 14, 55, 56, 58 cited, 55 quoted, 12, 56 GÖMÖRI, GEORGE, Cultural and Literary Developments: Poland and Hungary, 71-78 Gomulka, Wladyslaw, 6, 7, 16, 66, 76, 78, 83, 84, 86-89 passim, 92-96 passim, 119, 134, 136, 137, 138, 143, 144, 161 cited, 137 quoted, 136 Gottwald, Klement, 4, 120

quoted, 82 Great Britain, 154 Greece, 154 Gsovski, Vladimir cited, 34 Halecki, Oscar cited, 47

Harich, Wolfgang, 14 Háy, Gyula, 77 quoted, 78 Healey, Denis cited, 157 Hegedüs, András, 103 Helmreich, Ernest cited, 47 Heyman, Hans cited, 22 Holzman, Franklyn cited, 22 Hottelet, Richard C. cited, 158 Hrubin, Frantisek, 72, 121 Hungarian National Council (in the United States), 151

states), 151
Hungary
agrarian reforms in, 45, 46
amnesty, 101-102
compared with that of Soviet Russia, 102
collectivization in, 46, 48
Communist party in, 1-7 passim, 89
collective leadership, 98-99
leadership, 5-6, 7, 84, 86
anti-Rakosi sentiments, 105

Ernö Gerö appointed First Secretary, machine-building, 38, 39, 41 output, total, 23-25, 40-41, 42 Nagy's fall, 103 producer-goods industries, 24-25, 37, 42 Rakosi's comeback, 103-104 raw materials, lack of, 42 make-up of, 87 Second Plan, changes in policies in, 42 Nagy cult, the, 104 targets and achievement, lags between, 42 Nagy's inaugural speech, 100, 101 technological improvements, 42-43 Nagy's policies, Soviet displeasure with, See also Eastern Europe, names of individual countries personality cult in, 4, 85 Ignotus, Paul Rakosi's policies, condemnation of, 99 cited, 73 reorganization of, 99-100 Illyés, Gyula, 73, 78 split in, 98, 100-101 India, 132 cultural policies, condemnation of, 78, 104 Indonesia, 132 cultural thaw in, 74 International Center of Free Trade Unions, 150 resurgence of literature and poetry, 75 IONESCU, GHITA, Social Structure: Rumania culture, present status of, 78 Under Communist, 53-62 decollectivization in, 48 Iraq, 132 education in, 65-66 Ivanov, N. I. elections in, 18 cited, 32 imports, 41-42 industry, development of, 39, 40, 41-42 literature persecution of in Russia, 80 Benjámin poems, publication of, 77 Joita, D. writers revolt, 21, 76-78, 102 cited, 60 effect of liberated prisoners on writers, Jozwiak-Witold, Franciszek, 92 77 Juhász, Ferenc, 75 literature and the press in, 104 cited, 75 quoted, 75 "New Course" in, 4, 13-15, 18, 84, 100 Petöfi Circle, 77, 104, 121 Juhasz, William, 65 police and judiciary terror, ban on, 98 cited, 65 productivity, increase in, 42 revolt in (fall 1956), 5-7, 42, 48, 77, 78, 85-Kádár, János, 48, 78, 86, 102, 105, 144 Kaganovich, Lazar, 59, 92, 99, 129 86, 97, 118, 150 and Soviet primacy, 135 Kalnberzins, J., 129 failure of the West to aid in, 117 KECSKEMETI, PAUL, Limits and Problems of possibilities for averting, 105-106 Decompression: The Case of Hungary, Soviet intervention, 86 97-106 symptoms of, 104-105 Kemeny, G. Soviet policy concerning, 98, 99 cited, 41 Union of Writers, 74 Kennan, George F. See also Purges cited, 157 Khrushchev, Nikita S., 5, 6, 7, 13, 14, 19, 20, Iarcovici. M. 21, 33, 34, 52, 76, 85, 92, 99, 101, 104, cited, 38 119, 128, 130-134 passim, 136, 142, 143, Industrialization 145 Marxian theories concerning, 37 cited, 133, 134 Industry (Eastern Europe), 36-43 quoted, 19, 101, 131 and country's resources, 37 Kirchensteins, August, 126 building materials, 23, 40, 41 Kliszko, Zeno, 92 chemical, 40, 41 Koehler, Bruno, 122 consumer-goods industries, 28, 41, 42 quoted, 122 energy resources, expansion of, 23, 39-40, 41 Kolakowski, Leszek, 14

Komar, Waclaw, 6

Korea), 132

Korean People's Democratic Republic (North

Kostov, Traicho, 5, 81, 82, 85, 119

Kónya, L., 74

Kott, Jan, 76

expansion of, obstacles to, 28-29

ferrous metallurgy, expansion of capacity of,

imitation of Soviet industrial development,

iron and steel, 24, 39, 41-42

36, 37

INDEX

Kracauer, Sigfried cited, 67 Kreikemeyer, Willi, 83 Krėvė-Mickevičius, Vincas, 125 Kuczka, P., 74, 75 Labor, industrial (Eastern Europe), 40, 42-43 workers' morale, 42 Lange, Max A. cited, 64 Lange, Oskar, 92 cited, 35, 43 Lenin, Vladimir Ilyich, 14, 19, 53, 61, 83, 131, cited, 141 quoted, 61, 131, 139 theory of intercapitalist wars, 131 Liberal-Democratic Union of Central Eastern Europe, 150 Literature (Eastern Europe) and Soviet doctrine, 72 "Socialist realism," 90 and the Tibor Déry case, 73-74 writers collaborators, 72 semicollaborators, 72 spiritual emigrés, 72-73 See also Hungary, Poland Literature (Russian) The Thaw, the publishing of, 74 Lodge, Henry Cabot, Jr. cited, 153 Loebl, Evzen, 82 Lukács, Georg, 77 Mackinder, Halford, 156 McVicker, Charles P., Titoism, 107-114

Madgearu, Virgil cited, 54 Malenkov, Georgii, 4, 19, 20, 33, 48, 84, 99, 101, 103, 119, 129, 143 quoted, 12 Malesherbes, Chrétien Guillaume de Lamoignon de, 97 Mao Tse-tung, 136 Marbury, Elizabeth cited, 19 Marx, Karl, 28, 35 cited, 28 Marxism-Leninism inconsistency in philosophy, 113-114 Masens, V. cited, 151 Mazur, Franciszek, 92 Meissner, Boris cited, 124 Merker, Paul, 83

Metzer, L.

cited, 54

Middle East, 157 Mikes, George cited, 68 Mikoyan, Anastas I., 17, 77, 92, 105, 133 quoted, 17 Milosz, Czeslaw, 68 Minc, Hilary, 92 Moghioros, A., 55, 56 cited, 55 quoted, 55 Molotov, Vyacheslav Mikhailovich, 60, 80, 92, 99, 119, 129, 143 Montias, J. M. quoted, 88, 94 MORRIS, BERNARD S., Continuity of Communist Strategic Doctrine Since the Twentieth Party Congress, 130-137

Mickevičius-Kapsukas, Vincas, 128

77, 84, 86, 98-101 passim, 103, 104, 105, 138, 143, 145, 161 cited, 16 quoted, 12, 13, 16, 17, 102 Nagy, László, 75 Necker, Jacques, 97 Nejedly, Zdenek, 14 quoted, 15 Németh, László, 78 North Atlantic Treaty Organization, 158, 159, 162 Novotny, Antonin, 120 Novy, Vilem, 82 Nowak, Zenon, 86, 92

Ochab, Edward, 6, 7, 90, 92, 94

quoted, 91

Nagy, Imre, 4, 6, 13, 14, 16, 19, 20, 61, 74, 75,

Ostrauskas, Kostas, 128 Pacha, J. cited, 47 Paleckis, Justas, 126 Palffy, Georgy, 81 Pálóczi-Horváth, Gy., 77 Pauker, Ana, 82 Patrascanu, L., 82 Peasant Union of Central Eastern Europe, 150 Philippines, the, 132 Poland agrarian crisis and reforms in, 45, 46, 89, 92 and Russia, 93-94, 95, 96 collectivization in, 46, 48 Communist party in, 2-7 passim abolished in 1938 corruption of elites, revelation of, 75, 90 defense, leadership changes, 93 Eight Plenum, 92-93 Gomulka speech at, 93 Gomulka, dismissal of, 89-90

leadership, 5-6, 7, 83, 84, 85, 89, 90, 92, 93 in Eastern Europe, 84 make-up of, 87 in Hungary, 3, 81 in Poland, 3-4, 81, 82, 83, 86-87, 90 personality cult in, 4, 85 return to monolistic concept, 94-95 in Rumania, 3, 81, 82-83, 84 Seventh Plenum of Central Committee, 91 in the German Democratic Republic, 81, 82, split in, 92, 98 83, 84 in USSR, 81 Stalinists, demise of, 85, 86 Pushkin, Alexander, 125 Tenth Plenum, 94 verification campaign, 86-87 co-operatives, 93 Radio Free Europe, 122 cultural thaw, 90, 91 Radkiewicz, Stanislaw, 90 culture, present status of, 78 Rajk, László, 4, 77, 81, 82, 104, 105, 119 decompression and balance of power in Soreburial of, 105 viet bloc, 95-96 Rákosi, Mátyás, 4, 6, 13, 14, 16, 18, 19, 20, 75, decollectivization in, 48 77, 81, 85, 98-105 passim education in, 65-66 quoted, 14, 18 elections in, 18, 94 Rankovich, Alexander, 81 Five Year Plan (1956-60), 90 Rapacki, Adam, 92 Reshetar, John S. foreign trade, 10 industry development of, 39, 40 cited, 63 Révai, Jozef, 72, 73, 86 literature and the press, 76, 91, 92, 94-95 Poems for Adults, consequences of publiquoted, 141 cation of, 20-21, 76 ROBERTS, HENRY L., Foreword, vii "Natolin" group, 76 Roberts, Henry L. "New Course" in, 5, 15, 83, 84-85 cited, 54 overindustrialization in, 89 Rokossovsky, Konstantin, 6, 92, 93 Polish way to socialism, 81, 93 Roman Catholic Church, 9, 88, 93, 125 political prisoners, amnesty for, 90 Roosevelt, Franklin D., 155 productivity, increase in, 42 Roucek, Joseph S. religion, 95 cited, 64 release of Catholic ecclesiastics, 93 Rumania, 150, 154 Six Year Plan, 88-89 agrarian reforms in, 45 Sovietization of, 88 capitalism, renascent, in, 57 Soviet middle course policy in, 144 collectivization in, 46, 48, 55-56 underground leaders, 90 Communist party in, 2-7 passim United Polish Workers party (UPWP), 88, leadership, 5, 6, 7 89, 90, 93, 94 personality cult in, 4 uprisings in (fall 1956), 5-7, 42, 85-86, 91, education in, 65-66 92, 94, 95, 97, 108, 118, 150 percentage of workers and peasant sons in achievements of, 95 student body, 61 stepped-up program, 60, 61 working class, discontent of, 91-92 See also Purges technical teaching, increase in, 60 Polish Historical Institute (Rome), 147-148 imports, 42 Political trials, 8-9, 81, 82, 83 industrial bureaucracy, 58, 59 Population (Eastern Europe) industry, development of, 39, 40 overpopulation problem, 42 land ownership Pounds, N. J. G. medium-sized plot, 56-57 "New Course" in, 18 cited, 26 Purge political trials in, 8-9 and totalitarian systems, 79-80, 87 population, 53 as result of Stalinist policies, 80-81 economic position of, changes in, 54 defined, 79 rural, 54 objectives of, 80 urban, 54 types of, 80 Rumanian Workers party Purges Second Congress, 55, 56, 57 in Baltic States, 126 Second Five Year Plan objectives of, 57, 58 in Bulgaria, 3-4, 81-82 in Czechoslovakia, 3, 81, 82 social structure and anti-Semitism, 82, 84 intelligentsia, 60-62

| co-operation with old-regime intellectuals, 62 | Spulber, Nicolas, The Development of Industry, 36-43 |
|--|---|
| persecution of, 60 | Spulber, Nicolas |
| release of intellectuals from prison, 60- | cited, 26, 30, 40, 45 |
| 61 | Spychalski, Marian, 83, 92, 93 |
| kulaks, 54, 55, 57 | Stalin, Joseph, 1, 3, 4, 8-12 passim, 14, 16, 17, |
| peasants, 54, 55 | 19, 21, 30, 32, 34, 37, 53, 62, 63, 67, 73, |
| similarities and differences between Ru- | 74, 80, 83, 84, 85, 87, 88, 90, 92, 97, 98, |
| mania and Soviet Russia, 53 | 104, 107, 108, 119, 120, 126, 130, 132, |
| working class, 54, 55, 56, 58, 60 | 133, 136, 138, 140, 142, 145, 155, 160 |
| socialist sector, 55, 56, 57 | cited, 31, 34 |
| technical personnel, 58 | quoted, 31, 32, 34, 134 |
| village, social structure of, 56 | Stanislawski, Jan, quoted, 76 |
| workers, industrial, 57-58, 59, 60 | STILLMAN, SDMUND O., The Beginning of the |
| foreman, development of as bridge to | Thaw, 1953-1955, 12-21 |
| management, 59 | Stoica, Chivu, 58 |
| discontent among, 58-59 | Stolypin, Piotr Arkadevich, 97 |
| See also Purges | Stomma, Stanislaw |
| | quoted, 96 |
| Salisbury, H. E. | Strafford, 1st Earl (Sir Thomas Wentworth), |
| cited, 151 | 105 |
| Sanders, Irwin T. | Swiatlo, Józef, 5, 75, 90 |
| cited, 63 | Syria, 132 |
| Scholmer, Joseph | |
| cited, 127 | Tamási, Áron, 75 |
| Seifert, Jaroslav, 121 | Tardos, Tibor, 76, 77 |
| Semenov, I. | Tenth International Congress of Historical |
| cited, 23, 27 | Sciences, 148 |
| Semenov, V. | Tigrid, P. |
| cited, 132 | cited, 151 |
| SENN, ALFRED ERICH, The Sovietization of the Baltic States, 123-129 | Tilea, V. V. cited, 151 |
| SETON-WATSON, HUGH, Differences in the | Tito, Marshall (Josip Broz), 6, 10, 20, 80, 85, |
| Communist Parties, 1-7 | 104, 107-114 passim, 120, 136, 138, 140, |
| Shepilov, Dimitri T., 20, 129 | 142-145 passim, 160 |
| quoted, 19 | Titoism |
| Simon, Brian | acceptance of theses by Soviets, 108 |
| cited, 65 | agriculture, reforms in under, 111 |
| Široký, Viliam, 120 | and Polish reform, 108 |
| quoted, 13 | and Stalinism, 108, 113, 114 |
| Skendi, Stavro | and Yugoslav independence, 107 |
| cited, 47, 64 | as bridge between Communist and Western |
| Slánský, Rudolf, 9, 82, 84, 85, 119 | ideologies, 107 |
| Slessor, John | blend of Communist and Western ways, 107 |
| cited, 157 | citizen's councils, 111–112 |
| Smetona, Antanas, 125 | citizens' self-government, 108, 111-112 |
| Smogorzewski, Casimir | civil and criminal law, reforms of under, 112 |
| cited, 124 | corrosive effect of on Soviet satellite area, |
| Sniečkus, Antanas, 128 | desentralization and Communist party |
| quoted, 128 | decentralization and Communist party mo- |
| Social democracy see Titoism Socialism | rale, 112-113 decentralization under, 109, 111, 112, 114 |
| economic disappointment of satellite youth | economic reforms, 109 |
| in, 68-69 Socialist Union of Central Fastern Furone, 150 | free market, return to, 109-110, 111 |
| Socialist Union of Central Eastern Europe, 150 | economy, control of, 110-111 taxation, 110 |
| Sokolova, N. | Fundamental Law of January 1953, 112 |
| cited, 23, 27 Soviet Union, 148 | party and bureaucracy, separation of under, |
| "New Course" in, 84 | 113 |
| and the same and the | |

politico-administrative reforms under, 111112
producers' councils, 112
theory, 108-109
wages and bonuses, 110-111
workers' councils, 110-111
workers' self-management, 108, 109, 110-111
Togliatti, Palmiro, 134
cited, 134
quoted, 134
Tolstoy, Leo, 125
Tomasevich, Jozo, Agriculture in Eastern Europe, 44-52
Turgot, Anne Robert Jacques, Baron de

Union of Polish Youth, 93 United Nations, 7, 156, 161 United States, 127, 131, 140, 149, 151, 155, 160, 161 United Polish Peasant party, 93, 94 Urbanization (Eastern Europe), 42

Vacietis, J., 148
VALKENIER, ELIZABETH K., Eastern Europe in
Exile, 146-152
Varga, Eugene, 142
Vas Zoltan
quoted, 17
Veres, Peter, 14
Voice of America, 122
Voznesensky, Nikolai A., 80
Vukmanović-Tempo, Svetozar
cited, 110

Warsaw Pact, 153, 161

L'Aulne, 97

Watnick, Morris, 130
Wazyk, Adam, 20, 76
quoted, 20, 21, 78
Western Europe, 155, 156, 159
Wiles, P. J. D.
cited, 34
Winston, V. H.
cited, 26
Witte, Count Sergei Yulyevich, 97
Wyszynski, Stefan, 93
quoted, 69

Xoxe, Koci, 119

Yugoslavia, 10, 133, 154, 159 and Soviet Russia, 107, 108, 110, 111 agrarian reforms in, 45, 46 collectivization in, 46, 48 Communist party in, 2 decollectivization in, 48 expulsion of from Cominform, 107 imports, 42 industry, development of, 42 See also Titoism

Zaisser, Else, 83
Zápotocký, Antonin, 4, 120
Zelk, Zoltán, 77
Zhdanov, Andrei A., 73, 74, 76
Zhukov, G. K., 119, 144
Zilliacus, Konni
cited, 144
Zinner, Paul E.
cited, 144
Zukoroski, Stanley
cited, 68

THE ANNALS

of The American Academy of Political
and Social Science

THORSTEN SELLIN, Editor
RICHARD D. LAMBERT, Assistant Editor



ASIA AND FUTURE WORLD LEADERSHIP

Edited by

JAMES C. CHARLESWORTH, Ph.D.

Professor of Political Science University of Pennsylvania President, The American Academy of Political and Social Science

© 1958, by

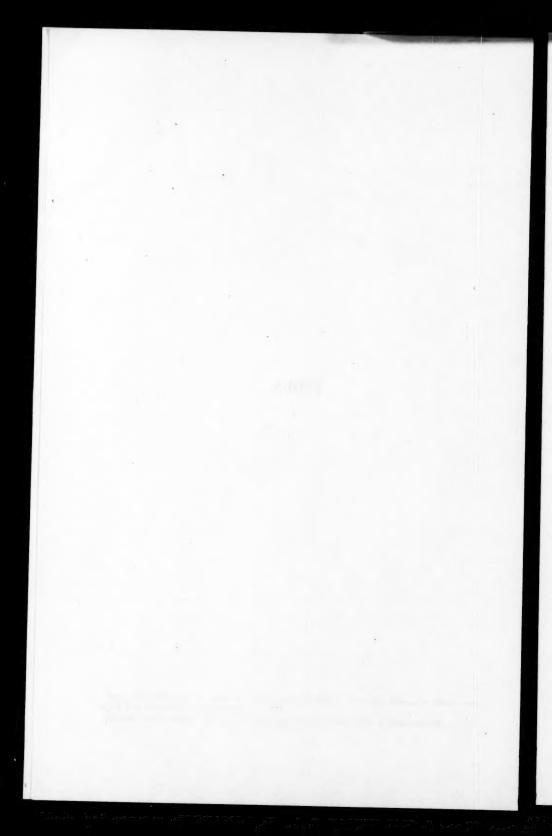
THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE
All rights reserved

PHILADELPHIA 1958

Issued bimonthly by The American Academy of Political and Social Science at Prince and Lemon Sts., Lancaster, Pennsylvania.

Editorial and Business Offices, 3937 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia 4, Pennsylvania.

INDEX



INDEX

Acheson, Dean, 69, 76, 77 British superstructure in India, 84 European superstructures in Asia, 84-85 Afghanistan, 12, 13, 77, 78, 90 initial contact friendly, 84 Africa, 19, 36, 41, 42, 65, 86, 111, 112, 140, 143 "reliable natives," training of, 84-85 Afro-Asian conference (Cairo), 93 strained relations, beginning of, 84 Afro-Asian solidarity, 93-94 Australia, 67 Alexander the Great, 62 and Southeast Asia, 62 Algeria, 9 Austria, 107, 109 ALI, MOHAMMED, Factors Looking to Eastern Austro-Prussian War, 107 World Leadership, 132-137 Anglo-American solidarity, 39 Baghdad Pact, 77, 80, 111, 112, 117 Arab-Israel war, 142 Ball, MacMahon, 60 Armenia, 64 Bandung Conference, 86, 93 Asia aims of, 93, 136-137 as craddle of civilizations, 133 Bannerman, Henry Campbell cleavages in quoted, 92 divisive factors, current, 95-96, 98-102 Bara, Theda, 28 historical pattern, 98-99 BARGHOORN, FREDERICK C., Conditions of Eastcolonialism West Peace, 122-131 effect of on the economy of Asian nations, Belgium, 16 134 Benton, William social structure, 134 quoted, 126 decline, period of, 133-134 BIDDLE, ANTHONY J. DREXEL, Belief in the economic ills, removal of, 94 Continued Solidarity of Our Western Allieconomy, 134, 135 ances, 113-121 European impact on, 90-91 Bowers, Faubion, 31 exploitation by Europeans of, 73, 84, 91, Bowles, Chester, 60 134, 140 Brazil, 32 history, 98 Brown, W. Norman, Religion and Language neutralist nations of, 100 as Forces Affecting Unity in Asia, 8-17 pro-West nations of, 99 religion, factor in Asian rivalries, 9 Buddha, see Gautama Bulganin, Nikolai A., 63, 119 resources, 98 resurgence of, post-World War II, 93 Bulgaria, 39 Bulwer-Lytton, see Lytton "revolution of rising expectations," 73, 81 Burma, 16, 22, 38, 45, 46, 60, 62, 65, 68, 69, uniting factors in, 98 75, 76, 78, 90, 95, 100 Western civilization, assimilation of with native cultures, 9, 135 Communists in, 36 democratic socialism, 35-36 See also Cultural advance; Economic poten-See also Foreign policy tial; Far East; Middle East; National-Byron, George Noel Gordon, Lord ism; Near East; Neutralism; Population; South Asia; Southeast Asia; names of quoted, 92 countries as India Asia-West homogeneity Cambodia, 2, 10, 78 factors hampering, 135 Canada, 16, 39 Asian Relations Conference, 93 Carlyle, Thomas Asians-European relationships quoted, 84 Asian cultures pushed in background, 84, 85 Ceylon, 12, 13, 15, 16, 19, 46, 62, 75, 76, 78, 85, 86, 90, 95, 100 Asian xenophobia against the West cultural, 86-87 Chamberlain, Neville, 117 native languages pushed in background, Chiang Kai-shek, 75, 76, 79, 80 China, 4, 19, 21, 22, 32, 36, 65, 75, 80, 84, 90, 86-87 93, 95, 98, 106, 110, 140 hope for disappearance of, 88 political, 85-86 China, People's Republic of (Communist), 4,

19, 21, 25, 38, 39, 65, 74, 79, 99-100, 107

religious, 87

and Southeast Asia, 61, 63-64 and the Soviet Union, 99-100 Indo-Chinese rivalry competition test case for Asia, 60 China, Republic of (Nationalist), 38, 39, 60, 63-64, 74, 76, 78 See also Formosa Chou En-lai, 63 Christ, Jesus, 87 Churchill, Winston, 41, 98, 126 quoted, 125 Colombo Plan, 62, 94 Communism, 114, 115, 116 Communist party (USSR) Twentieth Congress, 124 Cultural advance (Asia) and economic change, 30 and Western technology, 29-30 creative renaissance, 31, 32-33 education, 32 imitation of Western ways, 28-29, 30-31 Western reaction, 29 revolt against foreign ways, 29 See also Japan Cuba, 140 Curzon of Kedleston, George Nathaniel Curzon, first Marquis quoted, 85 Czechoslovakia, 39, 63, 108, 144

Democracy
and economic development in Asia, 94-95
and underdeveloped countries, 41, 42
evolution of in Asia, 44, 45
evolution of in the West, 44, 45
Denmark, 21, 53, 107
DINERSTEIN, HERBERT S., The Soviet Employment of Military Strength for Political
Purposes, 104-112
Dulles, John Foster, 67, 69, 76, 77, 80

East India Company, 15 East-West conflict, 35 and coexistence, 17, 40-41 and satellites, 39-40 Asia's reaction to, 135-136 capitalist encirclement of Soviet Union, 105 cold war, 12, 16, 17, 45, 47 Asia as pawn in, 45-46 disarmament, 142-143 disengagement in Europe, 144 need for a military stalemate, 118 negotiations between Russia and US, 105 summit conference, proposal of, 119-120 and Soviet divisive aims, 120 Western supremacy and rate of economic, scientific, and technological growth, 130-

See also International politics

Eastern Europe, 110, 144 Economic potential (Asian) allocations of investment, 23-24 and atomic power, 21 and the human factor, 22 development tasks for leadership, 22-23 economic growth and world status, 25-26 economic progress and foreign assistance, 24-25 American aid, 25 Russian aid, 25 economic progress and internal unity of nations, 24 economic progress and international status of nations, 24 national product, expansion of, 20 program of action, need for, 20-21, 22 per-capita income of Asian countries, 19-20 post-World War II, 20, 22 programs for individual countries, 19 public participation in business, 23, 24 rate of growth compared to that of more advanced lands, 21-22 resources, 20-21 taxation program, 24 Eisenhower, Dwight D., 59, 73, 75, 76, 78, 79, 114, 115, 116, 119, 125 quoted, 124 Egypt, 9, 10, 24, 111 Eliot, T. S., 28 Emerson, Ralph Waldo, 28 Erler, Fritz, 144

Far East, 10 Faulkner, William, 28 Fernando, Chitra, Asian Xenophobia Against the West, 83-88 FINLETTER, THOMAS K., Factors Looking to Western World Leadership, 138-145 Foreign policy (Burma) coexistence, 36-37 Foreign policy (Indonesia), 45-46 Foreign policy (US) and fear and suspicion of communism, 37 and human culture, 68-69 China policy, 38-39, 66, 74-76 embargo, 39 need for revision, 79-80 containment of communism, 67-68, 76 cultural exchange programs, 129-130 Eisenhower Doctrine, 129 Far East, disengagement from, 66-67, 80 foreign aid, appropriations for, 78, 79 global policies, 65-66 in Asia, 140-141 Eisenhower-Dulles period, 75-77 results of policy, 76-77 need for revision, 79-80, 141

neglect of economic needs and political aspirations of Asians, 77-79 Truman period, 73-75, 77 in Europe Truman-Acheson policy, 76, 77 in Indochina, 66, 76, 78 in Korea, 66 in Southeast Asia, 64-65, 67-68 and Latin American aid, 68 and World War II, 65-66 Japan, occupation of, 74 Marshall Plan, 76 military alliances, 76, 77 need for reappraisal, 82 overseas bases, need for, 60, 80, 117-118 Pakistan, arming of, 12, 17 Pakistan, revising our policy in, 80-81 Point Four Program, 77-78 propaganda, concern with, 38 Foreign policy (USSR) disarmaments, 118-119 economic assistance to uncommitted Asian nations, 78-79 in Southeast Asia, 62-63 nuclear tests, abandonment of, 17, 37-38 trade agreements with Asian nations, 79 Formosa, 75, 76, 80, 107, 140 France, 9, 16, 40, 42, 75, 84, 109, 117, 142 Franco-Prussian War, 107

Franklin, Benjamin, 44 Gandhi, Mohandas Karamchand (Mahatma Gandhi), 17, 92, 96 quoted, 96 Garibaldi, Giuseppe, 92 Gass, Oscar quoted, 129 Gautama, 16 Germany, 92, 105, 106, 107, 116-117, 141, 144 East, 144 West, 29, 76, 107 Great Britain, 9, 29, 40, 75, 84, 91, 109, 117, 119, 142 and Asian Independence, 85 Indo-British relationship, 61-62 See also United Kingdom Greece, 90 Gruenther, Alfred M., 115, 116

Hatta, Mohammad, 46, 47, 50-57 passim and capitalism, 51, 52, 53-55 and communism, 51, 52 and co-operatives, 52-53 and Indonesian economy, 53, 54 and Marxism, 51, 54 as symbol of moderation, 50

Guerrero, Leon Maria

quoted, 94

background, 50-52
resignation of, causes of, 51
Hemingway, Ernest, 28
HIGGINS, BENJAMIN, Hatta and Co-operatives:
The Middle Way for Indonesia?, 49-57
Hitler, Adolf, 102, 108, 109, 116, 117
Hook, Sidney, 124
Hudson, G. F., 127
Hungary, 61

India, 10, 19, 21, 22, 26, 45, 46, 62, 75-78 passim, 86, 90, 91, 93, 100 Constitution of, 11, 14-15 economy, 81 English, use of in, 14-15 food problem and American grain surplus, 81-82 foreign exchange, lack of, 82 income, per capita, 81 Indo-British relationship British Commonwealth of Nations, 61-62 Colombo Plan, 62 Indo-Chinese rivalry competition test case for Asia, 60 Indo-Pakistani relationship, 96 languages of, 12 Dravidian-Indo-European rivalry, 12-13 language as symbol of regionalism, factors producing, 15-16 rivalries among indigenous languages, 13-14 military expenditures, 82 partition of, 10-11 effect on West, 11-12 international repercussions of, 11-12 population, 81 Indochina, 60, 65, 75, 77, 90, 107, 141 Indonesia, 10, 16, 19, 21, 24, 65, 69, 76, 78, 86, 90, 100, 111 and Dutch occupation, 45 civil war in, 50 Communists in, 51-52 Co-operatives and article 38 of Indonesian Constitution, economic growth, problems of, 55-57 elections in, 46, 52 future of, 47-48 governments, 50 independence, 45, 50 political parties of, 50 political systems in, 46-47 gotong royong principle, 47, 52-53 pragmatic leadership, need for, 56-57

See also Foreign policy; Mohammad Hatta

and Western military power, 111-112

communism, expansion of in Asia

International politics

communism, expansion of in Europe and Western military power, 112 communism, techniques of expansion, 110-111 and African and Asian nations, 110-111 national liberation, 110-111 socialist revolution, 111-112 expansion patterns aggression by proxy, 108 fait accompli, 108-109 Russia's use of, 109 ultimata, 109-110 nature of altered by nuclear weapons, 109 ideological polarization, 106, 107 nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century expansion patterns, 106, 107 aggrandizement by agreement, 106-107 and nuclear age, 106 limited wars, 107-108 comparison with present world situation, 108 "peaceful competition," 130-131 Iran, 9 Iraq, 9 Ishihara, Shintaro, 28 Israel, 9, 10, 21, 142 Japan, 4, 7, 19, 21, 29, 30, 39, 67, 75, 76, 80, 84, 92, 95, 99, 105, 108 and Communist nations, 101-102 and Korea, 101-102 art forms, Communist control of, 31-32 as equal of Western nations, 92-93 ballet, the, in, 32 book publishing in, 32, 33 expansionist attitude of, 73, 102 kabuki plays, 31 libraries in, 32 movie making in, 31-32 religion in, 101 resurgence of, present, 93 Java, 10, 52, 55, 56 Jefferson, Thomas, 44, 65 Jordan, 9 Joyce, James, 28 Kant, Immanuel quoted, 123 Karpov, G. G. quoted, 131 Kashmir, 11 Kemal, Mustafa, 92 Keene, Donald, 32 Kennan, George F., 91 quoted, 91 Khrushchev, Nikita S., 26, 63, 111, 115, 116, 126, 131

quoted, 105, 124, 130

King, James E., Jr., 127 Kipling, Rudyard, 29 Kissinger, Henry A., 127 Korea, 19, 61, 75, 76, 80, 84 Korea, Republic of, 60, 78, 99, 103 and Japan, 101-102 Korean crisis, 66, 75-78 passim, 108 Krock, Arthur, 124, 125 Kyo, Machiko, 28 Landseer, Edwin Henry, 28 Laos, 10, 69 Latin America, 65, 68 League of Nations, 64 Lebanon, 9 Libva, 9 Lincoln, Abraham, 44, 47 LINEBARGER, PAUL M. A., Leadership in the Western Pacific and Southeast Asia, 58-71 Lippmann, Walter, 38 quoted, 38 Locke, John, 99 Lytton, Edward George Earle Lytton Bulwer-, MacArthur, Douglas, 30, 65, 75 Madison, James, 65 Mahavira Jnatiputra, 16 Malaya, 19, 60, 62, 64, 65, 66, 90, 95 MALENBAUM, WILFRED, The Asian Economic Potential, 18-26 Mao Tse-tung, 79 Marshall, George C., 74 Massachusetts Institute of Technology Indonesia Project, 55 Mazzini, Giuseppe, 92 Мента, G. L., Asian Nationalism Vis-À-Vis Other Asian Nations, 89-96 Meiji, see Mutsuhito Middle East, 9, 75, 76 Morocco, 9 Mountbatten of Burma, Earl, Admiral Sir Louis, 65 Multilinguism and national unity, 12 Murray, Arthur, 32 Mussolini, Benito, 102 Mutsuhito, reign name Meiji (Emperor of Japan), 29 Nasser, Colonel A. G., 111 Nationalism (Asian) as a political force, 9 freedom and responsibility of, 96 historical development of, 90 Western idea, impact of on, 85, 91-92

World War II, impact of on, 73, 92

religion and language and community spirit

Near East, 9, 141

Nehru, Jawaharlal, 17, 26, 37

in, 10

Nepal, 12, 13, 78 Nesmeyanov, Alexander N., 131 Netherlands, the, 21, 45, 62, 84 Netherlands East Indies, 45, 65 Neutralism (Asian), 140 ethics of, 16-17 New Guinea, 62 New Zealand, 62, 67 Norstad, Lauris, 116 North Atlantic Treaty Organization, 76 and the preservation of democratic governments, 115 as deterrent to Communist expansion, 112 history, 114 leadership of, 116 objectives, 114-115 Soviet aims to weaken alliance, 112 North Korea, 100, 102, 108 and Japan, 100-101 NOTOWIDIGDO, MOEKARTO, An Indonesian Policy Aimed at Maintaining Freedom and Promoting World Peace, 43-48

Okinawa, 76, 80
Orient and Occident
distinction between artificial, 137
Ottoman Empire, 107
Outer Mongolia, 100

Paine, Thomas, 99 Pakistan, 10, 18, 22, 24, 45, 62, 76, 80-81, 86 and US arming of, 12, 17 Constitution of, 10-11, 15 English, use of in, 14-15 Indo-Pakistani relationship, 96 languages of, 12 rivalries among indigenous languages, 14 religion and formation of state, 10-11 Pasha, Nahas, 92 Peace (world) and adequate Western military posture, 127 and balanced East-West power, 125-126 and cultural exchange between Communist and Western nations, 129-130 and Soviet infiltration in "bourgeois" governments, 126 and Soviet manipulation of universal desire for peace and survival, 126-127

and US economic aid to underdeveloped countries, 129
and Soviet piecemeal expansion, 126
and Western understanding of Communist and Oriental and African cultures, 130
cost of, 120-121
hope, elements of, 131
nuclear aggression, avoidance of by US and

West, 124-125 Russian fear of Western aggression, 125 Soviet conception of peace, 123-124

Soviet manipulation of social unrest, 127and underdeveloped countries, 128-129 Western conception of peace, 123-124 Persia, 107 Philippines, the, 19, 45, 60, 64, 66, 75, 76, 80, 99, 140 Plunkett, Horace Curzon quoted, 91 Poland, 39, 144 Population (Asia), 98 fertility decline, possible pattern for, 7 future growth, projections for, 5-6 historical development of, 2-3, 4 present-day growth ratio between birth and death rates, 4-5, 6-7 rates of growth, 2, 4 and available resources, 5 and economic and social change, 3, 4 and European influence on, 3 and Western science and technology, 3 Population (China), 81

Religious wars
Christian-Islamic conflict, 37
Renan, Ernest, 96
Ridgway, Matthew B., 116
Rio Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, 117
Rome, 90
Roosevelt, Franklin Delano, 92
Rostow, W. W., 60
Rumania, 39
Russell, Bertrand, third Earl
quoted, 94
Russia, 36, 92, 106, 142
See also Foreign policy (USSR); Soviet Union
Russo-Japanese War, 107-108

Possony, Stefan, 70 Prawiranegara, Sjaffruddin, 47

Presley, Elvis, 28

Proust, Marcel, 28

Sagan, Françoise, 28

Sastroamidjojo, Ali, 50, 51

Saudi-Arabia, 9
Seeley, John Robert, 90
Shakespeare, William, 28
Siam, 64, 90
Singapore, 64
Smith, Adam, 53
Sobolev, A., 131
Socialism, 35
Soekarno, Achmed, 46, 47, 50, 51, 56
South Africa, 95
South America, 143
South Asia, 9, 10, 86
Indo-British influence in, 62

Southeast Asia, 76, 90, 99 Revolutionary period, 44 and mankind's future, 69-70 struggle for growth for Americans, 59 and the United States, 64-65 See also Foreign policy Communist China's influence in, 63-64 Vasilevskii, A., 108 in ambit of two US foreign policies, 67-68 Versailles Treaty, 108 Indo-British influence in, 62 international importance, growth of, 59 Vietnam, North, 61 role in era of mass communication, 70-71 satellites policy in, 63 Soviet policy in, 62-63 Southeast Asia and Western Pacific Indian-Chinese rivalry in, 60-61 Indian-Russian rivalry in, 60 Southeast Asia Treaty Organization, 60, 67, 69, Weapons 77, 80, 111, 112, 117 nuclear Soviet Union, 21, 25, 26, 37, 51, 65, 75, 77, 99, 100, 107 economic and scientific growth in, 130-131 satellites, 126 military strength of, 117-118 use of for political purposes, 104-112 quoted, 74 scientific advances in, 105 West, 9, 10, 17, 67 Stalin, Joseph V., 111, 125, 131 education, 130 Stein, Gertrude, 28 Western alliance Strauss, Harold, 33 weakening of, 140 Suez crisis, 86, 109, 140 Western Europe, 9 Sumatra, 55 Western Pacific Sun Yat-sen, 92 Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers, Europe 59-60 history of, 115-116 Suzuki, Daisetz, 31 Switzerland, 16, 21 Syria, 9, 111, 112 Western Polynesia, 60 TAEUBER, IRENE, Asia's Increasing Population, Whitman, Walt, 28 Taiwan, 80, 99 Tensions, social and economic, 35, 36 capitalism vs. socialism, 36 urban vs. rural societies, 35 Wilson, Woodrow, 92 Tessai, Tomioka, 31 Wint, Guy, 60 Thailand, 4, 19, 77, 99, 100 Woolff, Virginia, 28 THANT, U, A Burmese View of World Ten-World leadership sions, 34-42 Tibet, 100 Toynbee, Arnold, 93 quoted, 86 Asia, 140-141 Truman, Harry S., 73-78 passim Tunisia, 9 Turkey, 7, 9, 76, 111 and the Soviet Union, 111 Turkistan, 90 139-140, 143 United Kingdom, 16, 21, 39 United Nations, 5, 6, 19, 45, 60, 62, 75, 80, 93, 94, 142 China, proper representation of to the, 38-United States, 9, 25, 26, 29, 32, 60, 61, 117, Yemen, 9 Yokoyama, Taikwan, 31 119, 140 Yugoslavia, 51, 111 and Southeast Asia, 60 Yukawa, Hideki, 31 and Indonesia, comparison between, 44

Vietnam, 4, 19, 69, 76, 80, 141 Vietnam, South, 10, 24, 60, 64, 99 Voroshilov, Marshal K. Yefremovich, 63 WARBURG, JAMES P., United States Postwar Policy in Asia, 72-82 Washington, George, 44, 65 abandoning tests and use of, 117, 119 missiles, 114, 118, 126 Wedemeyer, Albert C., 74 Communist advantages for leadership in, international importance, growth of, 59 Western advantages for leadership in, 59 See also Southeast Asia and Western Pacific Western Pacific islands, 60 WILDES, HARRY EMERSON, Intellectual Progress in the East, 27-33 Williams, Tennessee (original name, Thomas Lanier Williams), 30 achieving a modus vivendi between the West and Communist nations, 140, 143 and the West's relationship with Africa and partnership of East and West, 137 responsibility of all nations, 144-145 US influence, quality of, 139 West and non-Communist East partnership, and world attack against war, 142 areas of influence of, 141-142 YANG, YOU CHAN, Possible Permanent Cleavages in Asia, 97-103

THE ANNALS

of The American Academy of Political
and Social Science

THORSTEN SELLIN, Editor
RICHARD D. LAMBERT, Assistant Editor



UNOFFICIAL GOVERNMENT: PRESSURE GROUPS AND LOBBIES

Edited by

DONALD C. BLAISDELL
Professor of Government
The City College of
New York

© 1958, by

THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE
All rights reserved

PHILADELPHIA 1958

Issued bimonthly by The American Academy of Political and Social Science at Prince and Lemon Sts., Lancaster, Pennsylvania.

Editorial and Business Offices, 3937 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia 4, Pennsylvania.

*

•

Abernethy, Thomas G., 47 Benson, Ezra T., 17, 43, 44, 47, 48, 50, 51 Acheson, Dean, 26 Agriculture (US) election results in farm belt, 1928-1956, 44-45 farm organizations, 42-43 farm population, decline in, 44 farm price support issue in elections, 44-45, 48-50 farm vote, 42, 48 and farm prices, 43 significance of, 44-45 farmers multiorganization membership, 42-43 Farmers Union Grain Terminal Association, 42 and "food vote," 50-51 Grange, see Patrons of Husbandry National Association of Soil Conservation Districts, 43 national election (1948), farm vote in, 45-46, 47 national election (1952), importance of farm issues in, 46-47 National Farmers Union, 42, 43 National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, 42-43 Patrons of Husbandry (the Grange), 17, 43 political activities of farmers, 43 political strength of, 34-35 and politics, 42 receding force in economy, 35 Rural Electrification Administration, 42 See also Benson, Ezra T.; Government (US), Department of Agriculture Aiken, George, 47 America, 118, 119, 122 American Heritage Foundation, 55 American Legion, 17, 27, 128 American Medical Association public-relation campaign against Truman health program, 70 Anti-Saloon League (US) predisposition theory, application of to, 127-128

Baker, Newton D., 26 Barkley, Alben quoted, 76 Beard, Charles, 117 Beck, James M., 25 BEER, SAMUEL H., Group Representation in Britain and the United States, 130-140 Beloff, Max quoted, 157

quoted, 42 policies, 48-50 passim Berelson, Bernard F., 125 Black, Hugo, 29 quoted, 30 BLAISDELL, DONALD C., Pressure Groups, Foreign Policies, and International Politics, 149-157 Blaidsell, Donald C., 138 quoted, 83 BONE, HUGH A., Political Parties and Pressure Group Politics, 73-83 Bradford, Robert F. quoted, 36 Brandeis, Louis D., 26 Brannan, Charles F. quoted, 45 Brunner, Jerome, 115 Buchanan, Frank quoted, 6, 12, 14, 100 Bureaucracy (US) administrative decision, use of for pressure, at local and state level, 15, 18 autonomy to engage in pressure politics, 14 clientele support, mobilizing of, 17 and Congress, 12, 15 control of, 11-12 employee support, mobilization of, 16-17 Post Office Department, 17 higher-echelon support, use of by the, 15-16 legislative, liaison with the, 14-15 and Presidential power, 12-13 publicity activities of, 18-19 role in American society, 11 and Schedule C, 13-14 sponsor groups, support of, 17-18 Burke, Edmund, 131 Business (US) ad hoc groups, use of to back legislation, 37 age of managment, 33 American Petroleum Institute, 79 Association of American Railroads, 121 businessmen in government service, 38-39 and Employment Act of 1946, 33 and federal fiscal policy, 34 Foundation for Economic Education, 71 and governmental expenditures, 34 and governmental research programs, 33-34 interconnectedness with government, 33 Junior Chamber of Commerce, 116 labor-management relations, 34

local and state governmental actions, effect Committee for Economic Development, 37 study of formal relationships between busion, 34 and McCarran Act, 91 nessmen and political parties, 39-40 Cooke, Edward F. and McGuire Act, 91 mass media, use of in political elections, 60 quoted, 80 National Association of Manufacturers, 4, Cordiner, Ralph J. 37, 69, 70, 135, 137, 140 quoted, 35-36 public-relation program, 69-70 Cornell University, 43 and Taft Hartley Act, 92 Covington, Hayden Cooper, 22 and Wagner Act, 88-89 Cullen, H. R., 53 National Association of Real Estate Boards, Culture values offices in federal and state capitals, maininfluencing of and two-step flow of comtaining of, 37-38 munication, 129 Oregon Physicians Fighting Political Mediinterest groups, potential of, to affect, cine, 76 128-129 and party politics, 38 methods of studying changes in, 124-125 1956 national campaign, 65-66 convergence of small-group and mass-Peoples Committee to Defend Life Insurance communication theories, 125-126 and Savings, 78 mass-communication research, 125 political activity of businessmen, 39-40 predisposition, 126-127 and political contributions, 59-60 small-group behavior, 124-125 1956 Presidential campaign, 79 nature of, 124, 125 politico-economic relationships, 35-36 Culture (US) American tradition, defined, 124 policy pronouncements of, 40 public opinion, influencing of, 35 values in, 124-125 public relations techniques, use of to influlimitations of interest groups to change, ence legislative action, 38 and Republican party, 35 and taxation, 33 Darrow, Clarence, 22 trade associations, 36-37 David, Paul, 132 presentation of industry-wide policy to Davis, John W., 25, 27 the legislative, 37 DE GRAZIA, ALFRED, Nature and Prospects of United States Chamber of Commerce, 37, Political Interest Groups, 113-122 de Grazia, Sebastian, 120 and Wagner Act, 88, 91, 92 Democracy pressure groups, effect of on, 91-92 See also Pluralism Cabot, George, 38 Democracy (US) California strength of, 71-72 lobbying regulation in, 95 Calkins, Fay theory and practice, 53, 55 Democratic party (US) quoted, 82 CAREY, JAMES B., Organized Labor in Politics, contributions to in 1956 national campaign, 59 52-62 1956 National Convention, 138 Carroll, John A., 49 Desverine, Raoul E., 25 Case, Francis, 5, 79 CELLER, EMANUEL, Pressure Groups in Con-Dewey, Thomas E., 45, 76 gress, 1-9 Duffy, F. Ryan quoted, 28 Christ, Jesus, 121 Citizen and volunteer groups (US) Citizens for Eisenhower-Nixon, 78 East-West conflict Conservationists for Stevenson-Kefauver, 78 and international nongovernmental organi-Indiana Farm Research Committee, 78 zations, 156 National Business Council for Stevensonpressure group, role of in, 157 Kefauver, 78 Egypt, 114 Timber Farmers for Stevenson-Kefauver, 78 EHRMANN, HENRY W., Pressure Groups in Volunteers for Stevenson, 78 France, 141-148 Citrine, Walter, 134 Eisenhower administration and Schedule C, 13-14 Colt, Samuel, 4, 5

Gaines, Lloyd, 24

GARCEAU, OLIVER, Interest Group Theory in

Political Research, 104-112

Eisenhower, Dwight D., 38, 42, 43, 44, 47-50 Garrison, Lloyd, 23 passim, 53, 61, 78 Gaulle, Charles André Joseph Marie de, 148 quoted, 46, 47, 51, 79 George, Henry, 128 England, 114, 118 Goldmark, Josephine, 26 See also Great Britain Gompers, Samuel, 54, 134 quoted, 65 Government (US) Federal Regulation of Lobbying Act (1946), Department of Agriculture, 17, 137 5-6, 8, 33, 38, 97, 101 criticism of, 98 citizen participation in administration at local level, 17-18 litigation concerning, 98-99 United States v. Harriss, 99, 101 Farm Bureau, 17, 42, 43 United States v. Neff et al., 99 Department of Commerce, 17 Department of Labor, 17 United States v. Rumely, 98-99, 101 United States v. Slaughter, 99 elections governmental investigating committees, registration of lobbys, 99-100 78-79 Finer, S. E., 139 Federal Bureau of Investigation, 18-19 quoted, 133 Judiciary Foreign policy (US) amicus curiae, abuse of, 29-30 domestic pressure groups, role of in formuand economic regulation, 91 lation of, 152-153 judicial review, 25 factors in formulation of, 151 limitations on judicial power, 21 military, role of in formulation of, 153-154 mass petitions to Supreme Court, 29 President, role of in formulation of, 151-152 picketing of courthouses, 28-29 France, 114, 118 policy issues, decision on, 21 Confédération Générale du Travail (CGT), political character of, 91 142 writ of certoriary, 21 Federation Nationale des Syndicats d'Ex-See also Litigation ploitants Agricoles, 142 national election (1956) Fourth Republic study of by Senate Rules and Administrapluralism in, 142 tion Committee, 78-79 standing committees and pressure groups, political pattern, changes in, 34-35 Government (Western European) "Study Groups" and pressure groups, 144legislative revolutions during Enlightenment, 118 interest groups, growth of, 142 Great Britain National Council of French Employers, 143 bargaining in the polity, 135-136 pressure groups business organizations, 134-135 administration, relationship to of, 146-147 Federation of British Industries (FBI), documentation use of by, 144-145 135, 137 public attitude re, 147-148 Economy public opinion, appeal to and nature of collectivism in, 131 group, 142-143 National Farmers Union (NFU), 134, 135, pressure group tactics 136 and French party system, 143 political parties and social classes, 143-144 collectivism in, 132-133 and the Cabinet, 145-146 influencing of public opinion, 139-140 Frankfurter, Felix, 26, 29 pressure groups FREEMAN, J. LEIPER, The Bureaucracy in Presand administrative consultation, 136-138 sure Politics, 10-19 pressure groups and political parties, 138-Freud, Sigmund, 115 139 concentration and bureaucracy in, 134-135 GABLE, RICHARD W., Interest Groups as Policy "promotional" pressure groups, 134 Trades Union Congress (TUC), 134 Shapers, 84-93 Gable, Richard See also England quoted, 69-70 Group representation

American and British, comparison of, 130-

Gwinn, Ralph W., 101

Harvard Business School Club of Washington,
D. C.
survey of businessmen in government, 38-39
Herring, E. Pendleton, vii, 87, 90
quoted, 88, 136, 140
Hillman, Sidney, 54
Hinderacker, Ivan
quoted, 83
Hoover, J. Edgar, 19
Horn, Robert A.
cited, 22
Houston, Charles

quoted, 23 Howard University School of Law, 23 lobbying regulation, new laws concerning, 96 India, 114 Interest group defined, 114-115 Interest groups collective policy, development of in America, 119-120 Enlightenment ideology and reaction against, ideological fight against, 118-119 ideology in, 118 imitation of constitutionalism in structure of, 120 interest-perception relationship, 115-116 and national state system, 156-157 number and social milieu of nations, 114 organization of political interest and power historical background, 117-118 power and legitimacy, 118 relation to functions of society, 115 and rise of rationalistic mass democracy, 118-119 types of, 116 International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), 156 International nongovernmental organizations (INGO's), 150, 155, 156 International politics

Jackson, Robert H.
quoted, 3, 21, 28
Jacob, Philip E., 128
Jefferson, Thomas, 121
Jehovah's Witnesses, see Watch Tower Bible
Tract and Society
Jennings, W. Pat, 48
Johnston, Olin D., 16
Judiciary, see Government (US)

organization activity in, 150

pressure groups, role of in, 155-156

Katz, Elihu, 126, 127, 129 Kefauver, Estes, 78 quoted, 26
Key, V. O.
cited, 69
Kiplinger, W. M., vii
Knutson, Coya, 48
Korean conflict, 46
Kornhauser, Arthur
cited, 61

Kelley, Florence

Labor (US) American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations, (AFL-CIO), Committee on Political Education (COPE), 56, 57, 58, 59 as a force in government, 35 Congress of Industrial Organization (CIO) Political Action Committee, 54, 78, 81, 82 and Democratic party, 35, 80-82 International Union of Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, AFL-CIO, 57, 58 labor laws and National Consumers' League, 26-27 Machinists Non-Partisan Political League, 78 National Labor Relations Act, 34 National Labor Relations Board, 34 political action, phases of education, 56-57 expression of opinion, 57-58 registration, 55-56 political candidates, endorsement of, 58, 77 political program effect on country of, 61-62 financing of, 58-59 and politics, 53-54 attitude and response of members to politics, 61 and 1956 national campaign, 65-66, 79 and primaries, 75 and Taft-Hartley Act, 88, 92 United Automobile Workers-CIO Political Action Committee, 78 Labor-management relations (US) role of government in, 92 LaFollete, Robert M., 98 Lazarsfeld, Paul F., 125, 126, 127, 129

League of Women Voters (US), 55
Legislator
"automatic," 2-3
good, definition of, 2
Leiserson, Avery, 135
LENHART, ROBERT F., and KARL SCHRIFTGIESSER, Management in Politics, 32-40
Lewin, Kurt, 125
Lewis, John L., 134
Lincoln, Abraham
quoted, 8

Morse, Wayne L., 49

Murray, Philip

Litigation, 68 American Liberty League, 24-25 National Lawyers' Committee and New Deal legislation, 24-25 and National Labor Relations Act, 25 group action in, reason for, 22 National Consumers' League, 25-27, 30 Committee on Legislation and Legal Defense of Labor Laws, 26 organizations as amici curiae, 27-28, 31 See also National Association for the Advancement of Colored People Lobbying (US), 3, 66-67 ad hoc lobbies, 7 Citizens Committee to Repeal Chinese Exclusion, 65 as aid to legislators, 7-8 cost of, 100-101 history of, 5-6 and Natural Gas Bill, 4-5 "new lobby," 90, 139 "old lobby," 90 social, 67 venal, 3-4, 67 during 19th century, 4 See also Regulation of lobbys and pressure groups Lobbying techniques befriending of influential office holders, 4 bribery, 4 campaign contributions, 4-5 Lovre, Harold, 50 Lowell, A. L. quoted, 132 Luce, Henry, 53 McClellan, John L., 95, 97 McCune, Wesley, Farmers in Politics, 41-51 McFarland, Kermit quoted, 50 McGhee, Willie, 29 McKay, Douglas, 49 McKean, Dayton cited, 69 McKenzie, R. T., 133 Marshall, Louis, 22 Marshall, Thurgood, 23 Masland, John W. quoted, 153

Mayer, Albert J.

Meany, George, 134

Morgenthau, Hans J.

quoted, 33

Mendès-France, Pierre, 148

Monroney, A. S. Mike, 98

cited, 61 Mazzini, Giuseppe, 121

quoted, 54 Myers, William I., 43 National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 22 and barratry, 33 Legal Defense and Educational Fund, 22, 23 litigation, use of by, 22-24, 68 test cases before Supreme Court, 23 National Recovery Administration (US), 137 Natural gas regulation of (US), 86-88, 91 Natural Gas Act (1938), 87 Negroes winning of constitutional protections and individual test cases, 23-24 school segregation cases, 24, 27 See also National Association for the Advancement of Colored People New Deal, 24, 33, 44 Nixon, L. A., 24 Nixon, Richard, 47, 78 quoted, 48 Odegard, Peter, 127 Olds, Leland, 87 Orwell, George (Eric Blair), 8 Paarlberg, Don, 47 Patton, James G., 42 Penn, William quoted, 156 Piaget, Jean, 115 Pius XII, 148 Pluralism and development of a new form of democracy, 120-122 Political parties comparison between American and English models, 132-133 group cohesion, elements of, 108-109 group leadership, nature of, 109-110 groups as central building blocks of society, 105-107 potential groups, 106 reference groups, 106 inter-group alliance concept, 107-108 interest group theory, approaches to, 105 interest groups role in political systems, 110politics of individuals v. politics of groups, 116-117 Political parties (US) See Business (US); Committee for Economic Development; Government; Pressure groups and political process

| INDEX | |
|---|---|
| Polity | interrelation between pressure groups and |
| collectivism in the, 131–132 | political parties, 74, 138 |
| points of influence in the, 136 | local and state partisan elections, 75 |
| Pressure group activity, study of, 150 | and minor parties, 83 |
| Pressure groups | and nonpartisan local elections, 74, 82-83 |
| | party nominations, 75-78 |
| and cultural environment, 85–86 | party platforms, 65, 80 |
| definition, 65 and foreign policies, 151 | and political campaigns, 77–78 |
| | financing of, 78-79 |
| individuals control of membership, 64 and polity survival, 112 | and Americans for Democratic Action, |
| universality of phenomenon, 150 | 79 |
| | and Christian Nationalist Crusade, 79 |
| Pressure groups (US) | and Hatch Act, 78 |
| and administrative consultation, 136-138 | and National Committee for an Effec- |
| and American system of government, 64, 82, 151 | tive Congress, 79 |
| association of objectives with relevant pub- | "volunteer" and "citizens" groups, 78 |
| lics, 88-89 | Presidential candidate, support of, 65 |
| and character of American people, 151 | Pressure groups and policy-making process |
| co-operation among allied groups, 64-65 | (US) |
| | accessibility and degree of influence to cen- |
| catalytic groups, 65 National Tax Equality Association, 65 | ters of policy making, 85, 88-89, 90 |
| ideological basis for co-operation, 65 | areas of influence |
| influencing of executive branch | administrative agencies, 90-91 |
| administrative agencies, 67-68 | political candidates, 90 |
| Chief Executive, 67 | natural gas, regulation of, 86-88 |
| influencing the judiciary, 68 | Public interest, 92 |
| influencing of legislators, 66-67 | effect of pressure groups on, 92-93 |
| institutional advertising, use of, 70-71 | Public policy, 85 |
| and mass-media of communication, 8-9 | |
| propaganda | Randall, Clarence |
| degree of success of, 89-90 | quoted, 36 |
| public-relations campaign, 68-69, 70 | Reed, Earl F., 25 |
| publications organizations, use of, 71 | Reed, James |
| Committee for Constitutional Government, | quoted, 3 |
| 71 | Regulation of lobbys and pressure groups |
| Constitution and Free Enterprise Founda- | history of Congressional regulation, 97-98 |
| tion, 71 | Foreign Agents Registration Act (1938), |
| National Economic Council, 71 | 97 |
| Public Affairs Institute, 71 | Merchant Marine Act (1936), 5, 97 |
| and public opinion | Public Utility Holding Company Act |
| mass-media of communication, 68, 70 | (1935), 5, 97 |
| public-relation counsels, 68 | Revenue Acts (1938), (1939), 97 |
| and society, 83 | See also Federal Regulation of Lobbying |
| and the educational system, 70 | Act |
| See also Regulation of lobbys and pressure | legislation, recent, 95 |
| groups | Proposed Senate Bill 2191, 101-102 |
| Pressure groups and electoral process (US) | reporting provisions of, 102-103 |
| campaign contributions, 65-66 | indirect lobbying, 102-103 |
| local and state campaigns, 79-80 | state regulations, 95-97 |
| and general elections, 77 | See also California, Illinois, Texas, Wis- |
| 1952 national conventions, 76 | consin |
| | United States v. Harris, 6 |
| institutional advertising in 1956 national | republican party (00) |
| campaign, 76 | contributions to 1956 national campaign, |
| infiltration of party organizations by pres- | 58-59 |
| sure groups, 80–82, 83 | Reuther, Walter, 134 |
| advantages and liabilities, 82 | Riesman, David, 125 |
| infiltration of pressure groups by political | |
| parties, 80-82, 83 | Roosevelt, Franklin D., 44, 45 |
| | |

Roosevelt, Theodore, vii Rossi, Alice S., 16 Rossi, Peter H., 16 Rousseau, Jean Jacques, 142

Schattschneider, E. E., 132
SCHRIFTGIESSER, KARL, see LENHART, ROBERT F.
Schwartz, Harry
quoted, 154
Sheppard, Harold L.
cited, 61
Shipton, James M., 16
Smith, Adam, vii
Smythe, Dallas
quoted, 124
Sorauf, Frank
quoted, 92
Spain, 114
Sprout, Harold H.
quoted, 153

Stassen, Harold E., 45, 76
STEDMAN, MURRAY S., JR., Pressure Groups and the American Tradition, 123–129
Stevenson, Adlai, 46, 61, 78
Storey, Moorfield, 22

Storey, Moorfield, 22 Summerfield, Arthur, 18

Texas
lobbying regulation, new laws concerning, 96
Thornton, Dan, 49
Tocqueville, Alexis Charles Henri Maurice
Clérel de, vii
Trotsky, Leon, 121
Truman, David
quoted, 127
Truman, Harry S., 45, 47, 70
quoted, 42, 44, 46
Turner, Henry A., How Pressure Groups Operate, 63-72
Turner, James, 134

Twain, Mark (Samuel Clemens), 77

Underwood, Kenneth W., 124, 125
United Nations
and international nongovernmental organizations, 155-156
United States
policy making
foreign propaganda effect on, 154-155
University of Pennsylvania
study of formal relationships between businessmen and political parties, 39-40
Veterans Administration (US), 17

Veterans Administration (US), 17
Vinson, Fred M.
quoted, 21
Vose, CLEMENT E., Litigation as a Form of
Pressure Group Activity, 20-31
Warner, Lloyd, 125

Warren, Earl
quoted, 6
Watch Tower Bible Tract and Society
and American Bar Association, 27
Supreme Court decisions concerning, 22, 27
Wayne University
study of union political action in 1952 national campaign, 61
Wickard, Claude R., 48
Williams, G. Mennen, 82
quoted, 39

Williams, Philip quoted, 148 Wilson, Richard quoted, 50 Wisconsin lobbying regulation, new laws concerning, 96-97 World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU), 156

Zeller, Belle, Regulation of Pressure Groups and Lobbyists, 94-103

World War II, 33, 34, 137

THE ANNALS

of The American Academy of Political
and Social Science

THORSTEN SELLIN, Editor
RICHARD D. LAMBERT, Assistant Editor



HIGHWAY SAFETY AND TRAFFIC CONTROL

Edited by

JOHN W. GIBBONS Director, Publications Division Automotive Safety Foundation

© 1958, by

THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE

All rights reserved

PHILADELPHIA 1958

Issued bimonthly by The American Academy of Political and Social Science at Prince and Lemon Sts., Laneaster, Pennsylvania.

Editorial and Business Offices, 3937 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia 4, Pennsylvania.

.

Accidents, see Traffic accidents Automobile Manufacturers Association, 19, 78 Action Program for Traffic Safety, 128 Automotive age accident-reporting and record system, 22 impact on American life, 2, 10 Committee on Reports of the President's Automotive industry Conference, 23-24 competition, role of in development of safety co-ordination of effort, 22 features, 77-78 evaluation of, see Annual Inventory of Trafco-ordinated industry-wide safety programs, 77-78 fic Safety Activities highway safety, interest in, 74-75 highway engineering, 23 highway safety information, dissemination traffic safety program, launching of, 19 of, 23 Automotive Safety Foundation, 21, 65 legal basis for traffic movement, 22 Automotive transportation motor-vehicle administrators, responsibilities and freight movement, 4 of, 23 future, 5-6 and National Committee for Traffic Safety, growth of, 5 23 future, 5-6 program, 22-23 history, 4-5 and mail deliveries, 3 progress, measure of, 23-24 and personal mobility, 5 state governments and regulation of motor vehicle and travel, 22 and recreation and travel industry, 3 and the National Traffic Safety Contest, 28, and school consolidation, 3 30, 31 and spending habits of Americans, 3-4 and suburban housing, growth of, 3, 6 traffic courts, 22 traffic safety education, 22 and suburban industry, growth of, 3, 6 traffic supervision, 22 Air transport, 105 BAKER, JAMES STANNARD, Driver Licensing, 53-American Association of Motor Vehicle Ad-62 BALDWIN, DAVID M., Dimensions of the Traffic ministrators, 17, 78 American Association of School Administrators, Safety Problem, 9-14 21 Bethea, J. W., Organizing for Safety, 122-131 Bethea, J. W., 24 American Association of State Highway Officials, 17, 86, 87 Bliss, H. H., 10, 16 American Automobile Association, 16, 19 British Isles automobile ownership in, 133 Pedestrian Protection Program, 20, 23 Traffic Safety Foundation, 20 comparison with US, 133 Road Research Laboratory, 139 American Legion, 19 Annual Inventory of Traffic Safety Activities, road transportation in 23, 28-29 "mopeds," use of, 133-134 accomplishments, 31, 33 motor scooters, use of, 133 advisory groups, 29, 31 road goods transport, increase in, 134 award programs, 30, 31 since World War II, 133 co-ordinators, 30 public transport, decline in, 134 criteria of evaluation, 29-30, 31 traffic accident trends in, 134-135 and liaison between officials and the public, death rates, 135-136 31 vehicle ownership, increase in, 134 limitations of, 30-31 Bureau of Public Roads (US), 16, 26, 85, 86 mechanics of operation, 29 Cameron, William S., 19 reports, 30, 31 Armed services, see Traffic safety in the armed Canada First National Highway Safety Conference services Association of Casualty and Surety Companies (1955), 17, 25 High School Driver Education Award Pro-National Safety League, 17 gram, 23 safety program, 17

Age, 63-72

CARR, WILLIAM G., Education and the Motor

Association of Casualty and Surety Executives,

INDEX Driver licensing Chapin, Roy D., 16 CHAYNE, CHARLES A., Automotive Design Contributions to Highway Safety, 73-83 Commercial Investment Trust Safety Founda-Commonwealth Fund of New York, 138 Conferences on traffic safety citizen leadership conferences, 25 First Conference on Street and Highway Safety (1924), 17-18, 21, 25, 38 President's Highway Safety Conference (1946), 21-22, 23 regional conferences, 24-25 Second Conference on Street and Highway Safety (1926), 17-18 Third Conference on Street and Highway Safety (1930), 18 White House Conference on Highway Safety (1954), 24 and President's Action Committee for Traffic Safety, 24 Drivers Coolidge, Calvin quoted, 17 Courts administrative reforms, need for, 50-51 American Bar Association program for traffic court improvement, 21 and driver licensing, 60-61 New Jersey organizational reforms, 51 traffic cases, improvements and reforms in, 50-51 traffic courts and hearings, 50, 52 traffic court practices, study of, 21 traffic courts and prosecutors, 49 traffic courts and rotating judges, 49 and training of officials re traffic violations. and volume of traffic violations, 49 Culture American automobile as a symbol in, 98-99

Curtice, Harlow H., 24 DAMON, NORMAN, The Action Program for Highway Safety, 15-26 Death rates, 10-12 passim, 18, 44-45 and age groups, 11, 71 pedestrian, 12 rural, 12 urban, 12 Deaths (traffic) first death, 10, 16 deHaven, Hugh, 26 Driver behavior anonymity and animal nature behavior, 98 perception and judgment, 95-96 periodic retraining of drivers, 96 and public education and information, 96-97 fear approach, 96-97

administration of, 55 as revenue, 54 clerical work re, 55-56 and courts, 60-61 and driver identification, 54 driver improvement program, 57-58 evaluation of, 58-59 point system, 59 driver qualifications, 55 driver risk evaluation of, 57 reduction in, 55-57 history, 54 legal privilege of, 54-55 and police departments, 59-60 enforcement and reporting functions, 60 research, need for, 61-62 revocation and suspension of license, 57, 58 and the controlling of drivers, 54 adolescent, rates of accident among, 98-99 credit, use of by, 2 number of in the United States, 55 reward and punishment of, 94-95 See also Driver behavior Dunman, Robie W., 26

Economic Commission for Europe, 136, 137. Economos, James P., 21 Economy (US) automotive transportation, impact on, 2-3 gross national product, 5-6 and freight movement, 6 income rise and automobile ownership, 6 Eisenhower, Dwight D., 24 Esso Standard Oil Company, 19 Esso Safety Foundation, 19-20 automobile ownership in, 133 comparison with US, 133 Permanent International Association of Road Congresses (PIARC), 138 road transportation in "moped," use of, 133-134 motor scooters, use of, 133 public transport, decline in, 134 road goods transport, increase in, 134 vehicle ownership increase in, 134 since World War II, 133 traffic accidents death rates, 135-136 speculations for the future, 139-140 statistics, lack of, 136 trends in, 134-135 traffic accident prevention driver conditioning, 140 safety propaganda and education, 140-141

social consciousness, development of, 140-141 and vehicle improvements, 140 traffic conditions and increase in motorcycles and motorassisted bicycles, 139 traffic safety problems differ with individual countries,

problems differ with individual countries, 136, 137 solution of problems compared with US

approach, 136-138 Working Party on Road Traffic Accidents

and uniformity of traffic systems, 138 World Touring and Automobile Organization International Road Safety Congress (1958), 138

Fleming, Philip B., 21 quoted, 28
Forbes, Theodore W., 26
Foreword, viii
Freeman, Orville L., 40
Furnas, J. C., 19

General Federation of Women's Clubs, 19 Goodwin, Elliot, 17 Governor's Conference Committee on Highway Safety, 129 Great Britain, see British Isles Greenwood, Ernest, 17 GRIMM, SERGEI N., Traffic and Safety in Tomorrow's Urban Areas, 103-112

Hall, John J., 18, 20 Harris Teachers College, 64 Harvard University, 17 Bureau of Highway Traffic, 17 Harvey, Julien H., 16 Hearst, William Randolph, Jr., 24 Highway Education Board, 16, 19 Highway safety human factor in, 108-109 local access roads, 109 parking space and garages, provision for, 108 street design, 108-109 and technical design features, 108 See also Action Program for Highway Safety; Highways; Traffic control Highways

capacity, building for proper, 86
design, 85
development of new technique, 90-91, 92
and psychology and physiology of driver,
86
research in, 85-86
design speed, 87, 89, 91
Federal-Aid Highway Act (1956), 25, 35, 86
Federal-Aid Highway Act (1958), 35, 86

federal aid to states, 90 freeways, 86-87, 89-90 future needs, forecasting for (next 20 years), 88-89 and elements of traffic, 89 geometric design, defined, 85 movement of people and goods, 85 National System of Interstate and Defense Highways, 86-87, 89-90 features of, 87-88 safety value of, 88 road-building program, 35 road mileage, 2-3 roads needing intermediate attention, 90 urban roads, program for, 91-92 Highway and Highway Transport Education

Committee and training in highway engineering, 16
Hoffman, Paul G., 19, 20, 21
HOLMES, EDWARD H., Increased Safety—By Design, 84-92
Hoover, Herbert, 17, 38

International Association of Chiefs of Police, 17, 18, 19, 47 Institute of Traffic Engineers, 17

JACKSON, STEPHEN S., The Military Looks at Traffic Safety, 113-121 James, Stephen, 21 Johnson, Pyke, 16, 20, 21

Keegan, Kirk A., 22
Knudsen, William S., 19
Kraft, Merwyn, 26
KREML, FRANKLIN M., Police, Prosecutors, and
Judges, 42-52
Kreml, Franklin M., 18, 21

LaCossitt, Henry, 21 Lamont, R. P., 18 Law and enforcement, 43 Legislation and highway use accident reports, laws re, 37 and citizen organizations, 38 highway laws evaluation by North Dakota, 36 national study of, 36 need for revision of, 35 legislative and public apathy, 37 Model Traffic Ordinance, 38 motor vehicle codes, need for revision in, 36-37 motor vehicle statutes, tampering of, 38 need for long-range approach to legislation, and special interest groups, 38 state function on vehicle ownership and use, Minnesota Study program, 40-41

Uniform Vehicle Code, 38-39, 55 See also Traffic law enforcement Lewin, Kurt, 100 Licensing, see Driver licensing

Catch Up, 34-41

Research Division, 26

Neyhart, Amos E., 18, 21, 67

Safety Education Section, 16

McClintock, Miller, 17
MacDonald, Thomas H., 16, 21, 22
quoted, 39-40
MALFETTI, JAMES L., Human Behavior—Factor X, 93-102
Mann, Horace
quoted, 64
Mattson, J. O., 24
Meyers, Hallie L.
quoted, 123-124
Miller, H. B., 24
Moore, John O., 26
Morony, Louis R., The Law Must Hurry to

Motor-vehicle accidents, see Traffic accidents National Academy of Sciences, 36 National Commission on Safety Education, 17 National Committee for Motor Fleet Supervisor Training, 21 National Committee for Traffic Training, 20 wartime program, 20 National Congress of Parents and Teachers, 19 National Education Association, 68, 69 and driver education conferences, 67-68 National Grange, 19 National Joint Committee on Uniform Traffic Control Devices, 18 National Safety Council, 10, 12, 16, 19, 20, 78, 125 National Traffic Safety Contest, 28

quoted, 68 New York University Center for Safety Education, 20, 114, 119 Northwestern University, 18, 119

National Society for the Study of Education,

Northwestern University, 18, 119 Traffic Safety Institute, 18, 47, 101, 114, 119

O'NEILL, DENIS, Traffic Accident Trends in Europe and the British Isles, 132–141
Organized citizen support program citizen support, defined, 123–124
organizations, history and development of, 21, 127–128
in Chicago, 125
in Detroit, 125–126
in Indianapolis, 126
in Utah, 126–127
leadership, 128
legislation to support programs, 126–127

nonpartisan and nonprofit character of, 124 outlook for, 130-131 purposes, 124 source of advice and counsel for public officials, 124-125 traffic officials resistance to, 123-124 Owen, Wilfred, Automotive Transport in the United States, 1-8

Payne, E. George, 64
Pedestrians
number of traffic accidents among, 100-101
socio-psychological influences in traffic accidents among, 102
Pennsylvania State University, 21, 67
Police service
manpower, inadequacy of, 47-49
and parking enforcement, 48
and warrants, 48

and parking enforcement, 48
and warrants, 48
organization, 45-46
and multijurisdictional units, 45
and traffic specialization, 18, 45-46
personnel recruitment, 46-47
personnel training, 46
professional service, development of, 47, 48
Population (US)
growth and distribution, 5, 104
effect on transportation, 5-6
standard of living, rise in, 104
Porter, Harry, Jr., 29
President's Committee for Traffic Safety, 71
Prisk, Charles W., 25
Public Health Service (US)

Puerto Rico, 33 Ribicoff, Abraham, 25 Roberts, Kenneth A., 25 Roper, Daniel, 18

School transportation, 69-70
drivers, selection and training of, 70
pupil conduct in buses, training re, 70
vehicles, standards for, 70
Shakespeare, William
quoted, 26
State College High School, State College, Pa.

accident prevention program, 26

State College High School, State College, Pa. and driver education, 18
Society
sacred, 97-98
secular, 98
social deviate and accidents, 98
Society of Automotive Engineers, 78
Stack, Herbert J., 20
Standard Highway Safety Program for States, 20
States
safety programs, co-ordination of

safety programs, co-ordination of Connecticut plan, 129-130 support of co-operation technique, 128-129
Stewart, George C., Inventory and Appraisal,
27-33
Studebaker Corporation, 17
Syracuse University
School of Architecture, Urban Planning
Seminar 104

number of states using technique, 129

Seminar, 104 Traffic accident reduction and automatic controls, 101 discussion-decision technique, 100 and electronics systems, 101 and moral responsibility, 99-100 role of religion in, 100 socio-psychological approaches to, 99 See also Traffic safety in the armed services Traffic accidents and alcohol, 100, 101 driver behavior as cause of, 56, 75, 94, 98 and drugs, 100, 101 economic cost of, 10 and emotional upsets, 100 and fatigue, 100, 101 injuries, 10, 12 and age groups, 11 nonfatal accidents, number of, 12-13 and Press, 18-19 property damage, 10, 12-13 recognition of problem, 10 reporting of, 12, 13, 16, 37 and prevention of accidents, 13-14 research into causes, 14, 18, 101 the mixed team approach, 101 sociological effects of, 10-11 speed as cause of, 14 vehicles as cause of, 56, 75 See also, Death rates; Pedestrians Traffic control and electronics, 92 and television, 92 Traffic law enforcement accident investigation, 44-45 need for improvement, 44 enforcement-engineering-education co-ordination, 43-44, 51-52 enforcement index, 49 and laws, 45

and public acceptance and action, 43 purpose, 43 traffic law agencies, establishment of separate, 48-49 techniques in, 43 violations bureaus, 49, 50

See also Courts; Police service Traffic Officers' Training School, 18

Traffic Safety Association, 21

Traffic safety education achievements, 70-71 college and universities program, 68-69, 71-72 and driver examinations, 57, 61 driver training, 18, 66-67, 71 conferences on, 67-68 history, 67 teachers, preparation of, 67, 68-69 elementary school program, 65-66 protection-education concept, 66 future prospects of, 71-72 history, 64-65 National Education Association, role of in, 65

research in, 69
safety patrol, 16, 66
schools, role of in, 21, 64
schools-police co-operation, 66
secondary school program, 66-67
Traffic Education and Training Committee,
21
traffic specialists, training of, 20-21

Traffic specialists, training of, 20-2
Traffic safety in the armed services accident prevention program education, 119-120 research, 120 civic groups, liaison with, 120-121

civil authorities, liaison with, 120-121 economic loss of traffic accidents, 115 military accident toll, 115 military accidents, comparison to civilian accidents, 115-117 Motor Vehicle Roadeo, 119-120

off-duty accidents, 117
limitation of military control on, 117-119
safety program in, 114-115
vehicles, number of owned by War Department, 114

Traffic safety movement Congressional studies of safety problems, 19 federal government aid and co-operation, 25 manual on uniform signs, signals, and mark-

ings, development of, 18
periodic vehicle inspection, development of
program, 18
pioneer organizations, 16-17

pioneer organizations, 16-17
research projects, 26-27
safety foundations, creation of, 19-20
"Three E's" concept of, 16-17
See aiso Action Program for Traffic Safety;
Conferences; Organized Citizen Support

Traffic safety problem college and university research, comparison between Europe and US, 137 European-American interchange of facts and

views, 138-139

Truman, Harry S., 22

United Kingdom, see British Isles United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 12 University of California

Bureau for Street Traffic Research, 17 Urban development

federal and state participation in, 112

first stage

density control, 106

engineering investigation, 107

nuisances control, 106

recording of existing highways features, 106-107

sketch plan of highways, 107 zoning control, 106

and industry location, 110

metropolitan and co-operative approach to, 111-112

public participation in, 112 second stage

land subdivision, current, as guide for development, 107

servicing low-density areas

Central shopping and business district, 109-110

suggested pattern compared with existing methods, 107-108

See also Highways; Urban renewal

Urban growth (US)

effect of national highway program on, 105-106

Urban renewal

congestion in cities' centers, relief of, 11 cultural and community facilities expanded, 111

local arteries, expressway design applied to, 110

new approach to, 110-111 parking problem, solution of, 110, 111 pedestrian overpasses, building of, 111 suburban growth and highway construction, 110

Vanderbilt, Arthur T., 21

quoted, 52

Vehicle safety air conditioning, 81

air suspension, 80

automatic transmission, 81

automobile design and safety, 75 factors in, 76-77

brakes, 79-80

crash-injury protection, 80

early progress, 79 future trends, 82-83

headlighting, 79, 80

heat-absorbing and glare reducing glass, 80-

horse power increase and speed hazards, 81-

"middle years" (1920's, 1930's) progress, 79-80

post-World War II progress, 80-82 power brakes and power steering, 80

safety glass, 79 welded all-steel body, 79 wrap-around windshield, 80

Warren, George W., 21

Weeks, Sinclair, 24

Whitney, Albert Wurts, 16, 20, 21

quoted, 65

Williams, Sidney J., 16, 21, 26

quoted, 28 Wilson, Charles E.

quoted, 114

Wilson, Woodrow quoted, 5

Yale University, 17

Yost, Light B., 22, 24

Zimmerman, R. R., 21